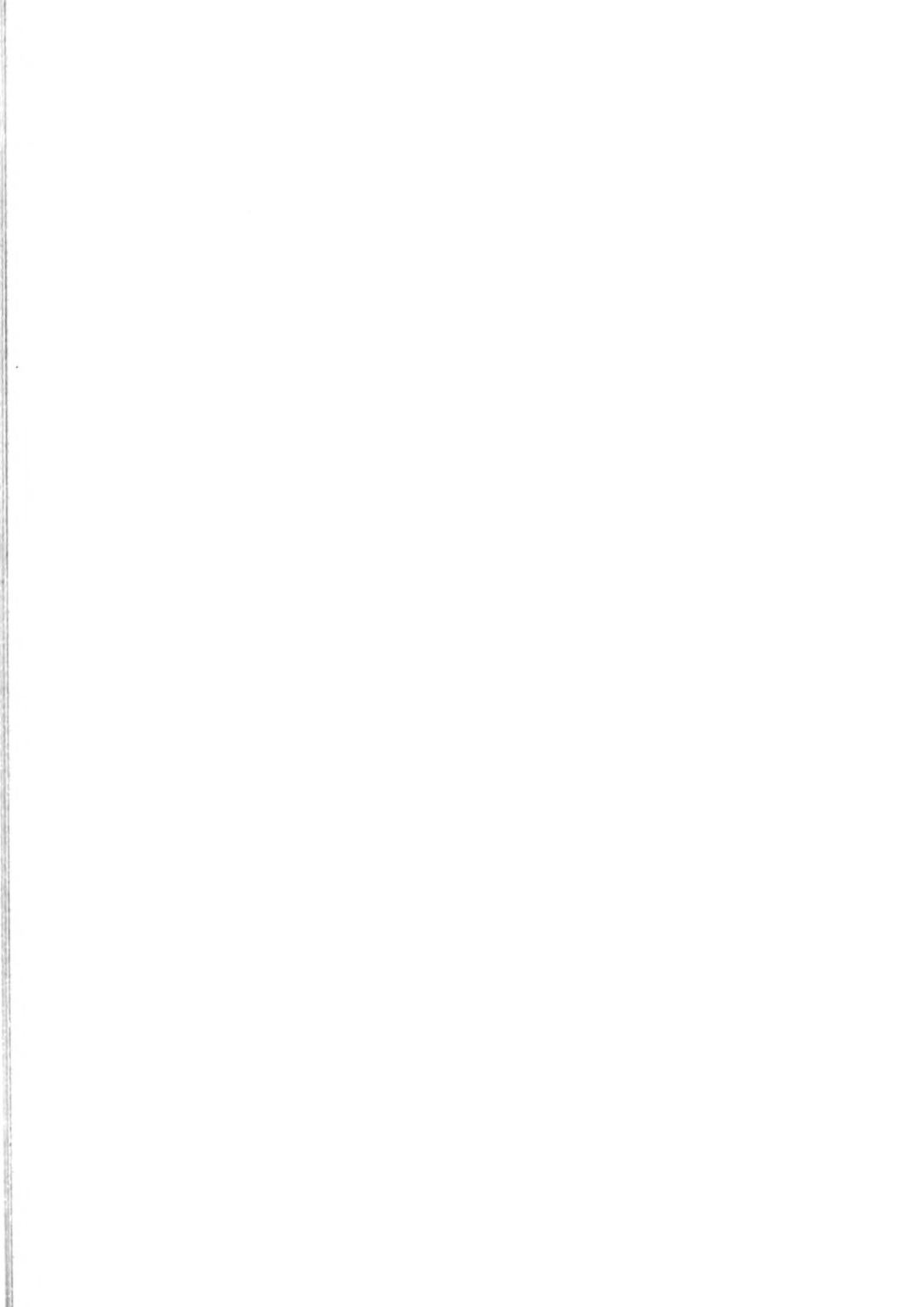




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JOHNSONIAN GLEANINGS

BY ALEYN LYELL READE

PART VI

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PREFACE

THIS volume calls for little introduction. It continues the story of Johnson's life from the time of his marriage in July 1735 to the early part of 1740, when he returned from his "rambles" in the country to settle finally in London; and conducts us over the threshold of his definitely literary career.

I have continued the same close methods of research that are now familiar to my readers. The period dealt with contains no outstanding problem such as confronted me in Part V.—the length of Johnson's residence at Oxford—but a host of minor ones, which all demanded considerable labour for their solution.

As before, I owe much to the help and encouragement of friends and correspondents. To the continued assistance in genealogical enquiries of Mr. A. W. Read, of Leicester, who is ever ready to undertake any searches I suggest to him (and I suggest a great many!), I can scarcely pay adequate tribute: neither my time nor my means would permit me to fill the gap that would be caused by his defection. And in Dr. Ernest A. Sadler, of Ashburne, whose home there enshrines memories of Johnson and Boswell as the excellently found guests of Dr. Taylor, I have again had a friend in need who has spared no pains to give me the benefit of his acquaintance with the records of local families, and to obtain information through private sources that would not have been accessible to me. In matters of literature and scholarship I am still fortunate in having such friends as Mr. L. F. Powell and Mr. Leonard Whibley to help me whenever my own shortcomings put me in a difficulty. More recently I have gained greatly by the wide literary knowledge, as well as the vigilant criticism, of Mr. H. Gordon Ward. It is quite impossible here to mention all those to whom I am under a deep debt of obligation for help given; but their names are recorded throughout the book.

To Miss Hinckley warm thanks are due for permission to photograph and reproduce the three portraits that adorn this Part—portraits whose existence I should never have discovered except by the pursuit of “vain genealogies.”

Part VII. will contain the detailed histories of the Jervis and Porter families that are presented here but in brief narrative, and an elaborate map to illustrate Johnson's origins and his life down to 1740; with perhaps other matter. In Part VIII. it is intended to take up the story of his life again after 1740.

ALEYN LYELL READE.

*Treleaven House, Blundellsands,
Nr. Liverpool.*

14 January, 1933.

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THE DOCTOR'S LIFE 1735-1740

CHAPTER I. HIS WIFE'S ORIGINS

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JOHNSON, we know, was wont to depreciate his own origin, and to an extent unwarranted by the facts. We do not hear that he ever attempted to belittle his wife's ancestry, even in the intimacy of domestic conflict, and when he came to write the epitaph for her grave at Bromley he minded himself of the antiquity of her stock.* He needed not his familiar defence here, that "in lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath,"† for Elizabeth Jervis, the successively beloved of Harry Porter and Samuel Johnson, could undoubtedly claim a pedigree of considerable length and respectability.

The Jervises were one of those numerous English families whose record is that of a long succession of small country squires, who retained their lands through the generations and consequently their position among the gentry, but who never utilised their opportunities

* *The Reader of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 236.

† *Birkbeck Hill's Boswell*, II., 407.

to achieve any kind of distinction, intellectual or even social. An ancestry of this sort is often, curiously enough, the foundation for a deeply ingrained pride of birth, and Johnson himself, with his respect for the established order of society, who "maintained the dignity and propriety of male succession,"* was sympathetic to such pride. His contempt for "an estate newly acquired by trade"† was in the best traditions of toryism, and the freedom of his wife's family from all possibility of such a reproach must have given him more confidence in her qualities of breeding than less prejudiced observers were willing to extend from acquaintance with her appearance and manners. "Adventitious accomplishments may be possessed by all ranks"; he proclaimed, "but one may easily distinguish the *born gentlewoman*."‡ And no doubt he prided himself on discerning in the elderly widow of a Birmingham mercer an exemplification of his theory.

Though the Jervises had long been settled at Great Peatling,§ a village some eight miles due south of Leicester, their early history was associated with Thorpe Langton, which is nine miles east of Peatling. The pedigree recorded at the Leicestershire Visitation of 1619 traced their descent back to a William "Jerveis" who was settled at Thorpe Langton about 1363. The compilers of Visitation pedigrees were almost as much in need of the saving clause as those who composed lapidary inscriptions—though not with the same excuse for their imaginative flights—and it is quite evident that the chain of descent in this case has got a little twisted. The succession of names may represent the holders of the estate at the various dates attached to them, but, when we find eight generations covering a period of some 170 years only, we know that the successive holders cannot in all cases have stood in the relation of father and son.

There is no reason to doubt that the Jervises had been settled at Thorpe Langton as long as the pedigree indicates. But a mere string of names, even if correct, and slightly impressive, has little interest, and it is not until the sixteenth century that the family history begins to suggest that we are dealing with actual people who had more than a

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 261.

† *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 130.

§ This account of Mrs. Johnson's ancestry is condensed from the detailed history to be printed in Part VII., *post*, so all references are dispensed with.

paper existence. John Jervis, born soon after 1480, who succeeded to the Thorpe Langton estates on the death of his "kinsman" (perhaps uncle), William Jervis, in 1511, is said to have married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Goodman, of Luffenham, in Rutland. On his death in 1558 his son William succeeded him. This William is the real founder of the family as far as we are concerned. In 1564 he purchased a manor in Great Peatling, from Michael Pulteney and Katherine his wife, and removed there from Thorpe Langton. A true patriarch, he did not die, as his altar tomb in the chancel of Great Peatling church testifies, until 6 May 1597, aged 94, leaving by Katherine his wife, daughter of William Ward, of Shangton, in Leicestershire, an elder son William, as well as several married daughters. This William Jervis, "esquire" (his father was only styled gentleman), made a first marriage to Anne, daughter of Nicholas Purefoy, of Drayton, in Leicestershire, esquire, by Jane his wife, daughter of George Vincent, of Peckleton, in the same county, esquire, and had by her a daughter Dorothy, married to Sir Richard Roberts, squire of Sutton Cheynell, in addition to two sons, William and George. After his death, on 21 January 1613/14, aged 77, which is recorded on a table monument in the church, the elder son, William Jervis, succeeded to Great Peatling, and set the seal on the family position in the county by serving the office of High Sheriff in 1618. But early in 1619 he died, married yet childless, and his monument on the south wall of the chancel shews him as "a corpulent gentleman in gown and ruff, with his lady in a close dress, both kneeling at a desk," and commemorated by the following verse:—

Here sleep they, whose life was such
That even Envie could not touch;
Therefore her faire virtues shall
Live admir'd and lov'd by all.

The succession passed to his brother George, born about 1566, who severed his family's long association with Thorpe Langton in 1623 by selling the manor to strangers. George Jervis married Elizabeth, daughter of Michael Henshaw, of Maldon, in Essex, and had two sons, William and Henry. He also had four daughters, who all married men of good local connexions, two of them parsons. Henry, the younger son, died unmarried, but William, the elder, who was born in December

1598 and died in December 1661, had eight children by Elizabeth his wife, who was daughter of Humphrey Adderley, of Weddington, near Nuneaton. There were again two sons, and the six daughters emulated the example of their four aunts by all securing husbands, which suggests that the Jervis ladies possessed either charm or that "will to power" which often succeeds more surely. The elder son, Samuel Jervis (his younger brother William is but a name), born at Great Peatling about 1628, was the first of the family for whom the experiment of a university education was tried: he was admitted a Fellow Commoner at Pembroke College, Cambridge, on 10 December 1646, but there is no record of his having proceeded to a degree. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Orton, of Lea Grange, Orton-on-the-Hill, and when he died in April 1674 he left but one child, William, whose elder brother George had died in infancy. This William Jervis, who was born on 21 June 1659, was the father-in-law of Dr. Johnson, though his early death in January 1694/5 preceded the lexicographer's birth by nearly fifteen years. Of Great Peatling, esquire, he married Anne, daughter of Henry Darell, of the Middle Temple, of whom more will be heard later, and had three sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter, Darell, and the youngest daughter, Anne, each died in childhood, at the ages of eleven and four respectively. So that Elizabeth, the middle one, to become the best known member of her family as the "Tetty" of Johnson's strange regard, was to all intents and purposes an only daughter.

Tetty's three brothers find no mention in the biographies, so it is of interest to learn what we can of them. Of the two younger little is known: William Jervis was born on 10 October 1683 and entered Rugby School just after his father's death, while Samuel Jervis was born on 17 January 1685/6; but except that both were alive in 1703 their history runs no further. Richard Jervis, the eldest brother, who was born about 1681 at Warwick, entered Rugby School in 1689, and followed his grandfather at Cambridge, being admitted a pensioner at St. John's College on 19 April 1698. But the family did not run to scholarship, and he left without a degree, to follow in his father's footsteps as squire of Great Peatling. His wife Anne, daughter of Joseph Flude, of Dunton Bassett, near by, came but of a middling family: he married her on 31 May 1709. Richard Jervis died in September

1725, ten years after his sister had espoused Harry Porter, and ten years before she became Mrs. Samuel Johnson.

And now we are left free to deal with "Tetty." "Elizabeth, the daughter of William Jervis Esqre. and Mistress Anne his Wife," was born on 4 February 1688/9, and baptized at Great Peatling on 16 February, by Mr. Smith, the curate of Little Peatling. Her father dying when she was a child of barely six, she had the society of her younger sister till the following year, and of her elder sister till 1699: her eldest brother went on from Rugby to Cambridge in 1698, her second brother was probably still at Rugby, while her youngest brother was yet a child. Her mother kept the home, and remained on at Great Peatling. In 1703 a deed was drawn up re-settling the estates. William Jervis, when he died in 1695, had left them chargeable with the education and maintenance of his children, as well as with sums of £400 for each of them as they attained twenty-one. From the deed we learn that Richard Jervis, the heir, who must recently have come of age, "hath contracted severall debts and hath no way to discharge the same without the concurrence and assent" of the trustees, who had previously had to sell some of the Peatling land on account of his extravagance. Under this new settlement of 1703 power was given to clear off the young gentleman's debts to date, as well as to pay £400 apiece to William and Samuel, and "the summe of Six hundred pounds to the said Elizabeth Jervis the onely surviveing daughter of the said William Jervis deceased."

Tetty's stock seems to have been going up. And in July 1708 old Mrs. Elizabeth Jervis died at Great Peatling, leaving a will, made on 26 February 1700/1, that contained this clause:—"I give and bequeath unto my graddaughter Elizabeth Jarvis (*sic*) All my household goods and implyments of whatever nature or kind soever the same be and alsoe all my plate rings ready money brass and pewter and all other my substance of what nature or kinde soever the same be to hold to her for ever." She also left her half the residue of her estate, the other half to go to the young Elizabeth's mother.

The next record of the family comes on 21 May 1707, in the will of John Wright, a yeoman at Great Peatling, and probably a tenant on the estate, which includes these two bequests.—"Item I give and bequeath unto Madam Elizabeth Jervis of Greate Peateling Widdow

two broad peeces of Gould. Item I give and bequeath unto Madam Ann Jervis of Warwick the sum of two Guineys."

This raises afresh a problem in the family history. We have seen that Richard Jervis, the eldest son, was born at Warwick about 1681. Now, in 1707, we find that his mother had left Great Peatling to live there. And there she seems to have remained some years, for when a licence was issued from Lichfield on 4 February 1714/5 for the marriage of "Henry" Porter, of Birmingham, bachelor, to Elizabeth Jervis, the bride (whose twenty-sixth birthday it was) appears as of Warwick.

What was their connexion with Warwick, which is little short of thirty miles from Great Peatling? We know of no relatives there, though there may have been some. The only clue lies in the will of William Jervis, the father, in 1695, in which one of the "loving friends" nominated by him as trustees was "William Colemer, of the borough of Warwick, esquire"; and in the deed of re-settlement in 1703, where the same William Colmore, and William Colmore the younger, of Warwick, gentleman, appear as parties. These Colmores were people of some importance: William Colmore the elder, a Magdalen College man and barrister of the Inner Temple, was M.P. for Warwick from 1689 to 1695, and lived at the Deanery there, while William Colmore the younger followed his father at Magdalen, thence proceeded to the Middle Temple, and was M.P. for Warwick from 1713. As his father left £5 to every parish in Birmingham, it is probable that he belonged to the wealthy family long settled there whose name still distinguishes one of the city's principal streets. Moreover, the Colmores were connected with the Porters, for in 1594 Henry Porter of Edgbaston, who will be identified in the next chapter as Harry Porter's great-grandfather, married one of the daughters of William Colmore, of New Hall, Birmingham.* This does nothing to explain the Jervis connexion with Warwick, but if we ask how Elizabeth Jervis came to meet Harry Porter we can find a reasonable answer in their common association with the Colmores. The Porters had another tie with Warwick, for their cousins the Nortons had been prominent there for many years.†

* See *post*, p. 16.

† See *post*, pp. 16, 20-21.

Under William Jarvis's will of 1695 his widow should have had the use of his mother's house at Great Peatling after the old lady's death in 1708, but before that time the younger woman, as we have seen, had gone to live at Warwick, where she apparently still was in 1715. However, she probably did return to Peatling eventually, for she was buried there in December 1726. If she had only had the good sense to leave a will behind her, it might have told us some more of the family affairs.

So much for her Jarvis forbears. Through her mother Tetty had a much more interesting ancestry. The Jervises, however respectable and free from all taint of trade, lived in a narrow sphere, and their interests and associations were confined geographically to a small and remote county area and intellectually most probably by the very modest cultural range of people so limited in their horizon. But the Darells, if not specially intellectual or distinguished, had at least lived much more varied lives, had received better educations, and had held appointments in the Royal Household. They came from a landed stock equally old with the Jervises, the Darells of Calehill, in the parish of East Chart, Kent, but had evidently been more enterprising. A scion of the family, Thomas Darell, born in 1422 (whose father had been Steward to Archbishop Chicheley and married his niece), settled at Scotney, on the Sussex border, and it is interesting to note that his wife, Thomasine, was daughter to Sir John Gresley, of Drakelow in Staffordshire, a direct ancestor of the Sir Thomas Gresley we shall hear of later in this volume in connexion with Johnson's application for the mastership of Appleby School.*

The mere successions of genealogy we may pass over here, but Edward Darell, who died in 1573 and was great-grandson to Thomas just mentioned, not only left Scotney and had his location at Pagham, in Sussex, but by filling the office of Clerk of the Acatery (or Royal provision store) to Queen Elizabeth, gave the family a first lift out of the rut of mere country squiredom. His eldest son, Sir Thomas Darell, was M.P. for East Retford in 1604. But his younger son, Sir Marmaduke Darell, has more interest for us. Born in 1557, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1599, and knighted in 1603, he died in 1632, after having served as Victualler of the Navy, and Cofferer of the King's

* See *post*, pp. 109-10.

Household. He it was who purchased the manor of Fulmer, in Bucks., and the monument in the church he himself built there in 1610 rotundly describes him as "servant to queen Elizabeth by sea and land, and cofferer to king James and king Charles I." With his son again, Sir Sampson Darell, we get within hailing distance of Tetty, who was his great-granddaughter. Sir Sampson was born about 1594, and matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford, on 8 May 1607, taking his B.A. in 1610, when aged but sixteen. He was admitted to Gray's Inn, like his father before him, on 7 November 1610, and was knighted at Greenwich on 13 June 1619. He succeeded his father at Fulmer Place, but died in the parish of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, on 23 May 1635. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Christopher Hampden, of Coleshill, by Amersham, in Bucks., he had nine children, but it is his youngest son, Henry, who claims our attention as Tetty's grandfather.

Henry Darell was born about 1633. Of his education we know nothing, but his next elder brother, Charles, who was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1648, had been at Hertford School under Mr. Minors. Not until 20 May 1662 was Henry admitted to the Inner Temple, and he did not complete there. On 15 July 1664 he was admitted to the Middle Temple, and here was duly called to the Bar on 25 May 1666. When he entered the Inner Temple he was already a married man, and his wife Anne, youngest daughter of Robert Thomson, of Royton Manor, in the parish of Lenham, Kent, esquire, by Dorothy his first wife, daughter of Thomas Swan, of Wye, died a few months later, on 6 September 1662, and was buried at Wye. Robert Thomson's mother was a daughter of Robert Honeywood of Charing, whose widow, "that truly religious matron, had at her decease lawfully descended 367 children; 16 of her own body." Henry Darell remained a widower just over a year, and in November 1663 took a second wife in the shape of Mrs. Mary Legg, of "Spenser," in Berkshire. From his will, made on 23 May 1672, we learn that Ann Thomson, the grandmother of Tetty, was his "first and best most affectionate faithfull and vertuous wife," whereas the widow who had ensnared him into a second venture is set down there as "my now unkind and most perverse wife." It is a pity all husbands do not contribute to "the public stock of harmless pleasure" by telling us

in their wills their frank opinion of the wives they have chosen, or mischosen.

The interest of the will is not confined to these revelations of his domestic preferences, for it discloses to us something also of his own actual affairs. He describes himself as of the Middle Temple, London, and explains that he makes this testament on account of his "being in indifferent good state of health of my body and in the best of my understanding according to the little measure thereof which I have received (Blessed be God for the same) and purposing speedily to accompany my most Honourable friend his Excelency William Lord Willoughby of Parham, Capt. Generall and Cheife Governour of the Island of Barbados unto his Gouvernement there." What office he was to fill he does not tell us. William, Lord Willoughby of Parham, had succeeded his elder brother Francis, the fifth Baron, as Governor of Barbados and the Caribbee Islands, in 1667. After a visit to England which extended to a year or two, he returned to Barbados in October 1672, some five months after Henry Darell's declared intention to accompany him there "speedily." There must have been unexpected delay, and it is probable that the Governor went without his "friend," for, when Henry Darell died a year or two later, and administration of his estate was granted on 17 February 1673/4, he was described as late of the Middle Temple, esquire, "but dying in the Colony of Tangier, in parts beyond the sea." We should expect that he had gone to Tangier in some official capacity, and not merely as a traveller, for persons in the "indifferent good state of health of the body" to which he confessed would have been ill-advised to risk the discomforts of travel in those days, unless some practical benefit was to be gained. That he should bless God for his "understanding, according to the little measure thereof which I have received," warms our hearts towards a modesty that found expression even in a will.

If we judge him by his bequests, Henry Darell was a man of considerable property. To his current wife, in spite of the character he gives her, he leaves a life interest in all his houses in Thames Street, and St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, London, as well as the interest on a sum of £1,000 already in the hands of trustees. His younger daughter Anne, the mother of Tetty, was to have all the property in Kent heretofore her mother's, as well as a farm that he had recently purchased

in the parishes of Hawkhurst, in Kent, and Etchingham, in Sussex, and a mortgage for £550 on a farm at Barston, in Kent. His other surviving daughter, Henrietta Maria—there were no sons—was to have the £1,000 mentioned, after the widow's death; and remainder to the lands bequeathed to Anne, if she died.

His taste in memorials was also expensive. In the eventuality of Anne's death, Henrietta, out of the property that would come to her, was to erect a marble monument in Wye church in honour of his first wife, of the value of £300; while if his daughters both died his brother Sampson Darell was to have the pleasure of his inheritance diminished by an obligation to erect a monument in Hawkhurst church to Henry, his first wife, and his children, at a cost of £400, a sum which would represent a few thousands in today's money.

Henry Darell can only have been about forty years old when he died, and Anne was still a minor when administration of his estate was granted in February 1673/4 to her guardian, Francis Eedes, of the Inner Temple. Her marriage to William Jervis must have taken place about 1680, and if her father was as substantial a man as his will suggests she would come to her husband by no means dowerless. But we hear nothing of her property afterwards, and are left to wonder what became of it.

It now remains only to follow the fortunes of the Jervis family after Tetty had formed its strangest, but, to us looking back, its most distinguished alliance. We have seen that her eldest brother, Richard Jervis, the squire of Great Peatling, married Anne Flude in May 1709, and died in September 1725, when barely forty-five, his widow surviving him until June 1743. Richard Jervis's three children, who could afterwards claim Johnson as their uncle-by-marriage (if they wished to do so), were almost of an age with him, and the two sons lived long after the awkward young man from Lichfield had established himself, without any deliberate effort on his own part, as the dictator of English letters. But there is no evidence that they ever met, or had communion of any kind, and perhaps for the Jervises the connexion always remained rather disgraceful.

Darell Jervis, the only daughter, who had but a short span of life, from 1713 to 1740, married Knightly Smith, esquire, of Leire,

in Leicestershire, whose grandfather, the Rev. Dr. Knightly Holled, left a legacy of two distinctive names for the use of his descendants. Holled Smith, the only surviving child of Darell, prospered as an attorney and purchased Normanton Hall, in his own county. At his death in 1795, aged 63, he left a large family: most of his descendants remain ordinary county folk, but he had two grandchildren distinguished in widely different ways, the Rev. Thomas Noel as author of "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep," and the Rev. Henry Octavius Coxe as the first Bodley's Librarian to tackle the huge job of indexing the treasures under his care. Both of these great-great-grandnephews of Tetty were old enough to have heard from senior members of the family of her marriage to Johnson as a familiar domestic event, but history does not record that they either of them claimed a connexion which one would expect to have been of interest to men of culture.

Of Tetty's two nephews, we will deal first with the younger, William Jarvis, born in 1711, who practised at Lutterworth as a surgeon-apothecary, and died in 1780. His only surviving son, Richard Jarvis, followed him there in the same profession. It is a curious fact that this great-nephew of Tetty, who lived till 1817, married in 1791, for his second wife, a sister of Johnson's friend Richard Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He had but one child, another Richard Jarvis, who entered Appleby School in 1787, probably quite ignorant of its Johnsonian associations.* This Richard Jarvis in 1801 was appointed Curate of Stoke Golding, in Leicestershire, and Master of the Free Grammar School there, but he died in 1808, aged only thirty. By his wife, whose father was John Cole Gallaway, an eccentric Vicar of Hinckley, he left an only daughter, who probably died unmarried.

To come back to Samuel Jarvis, her elder nephew, who was born in 1710, and entered Rugby School in 1721, is to follow once more the fortunes of the main line of the family. He succeeded his father in the estate in 1725, but was the last of the Jervises to live at Great Peatling, which suggests that his father's extravagance, of which we have seen youthful indications, had perhaps weakened the family's hold on their lands. Samuel Jarvis was not impoverished by a large and expensive family. He had but one child, who became a parson. The

* See *post*, p. 96 *et seq.*

Rev. William Jervis was born at Great Peatling in 1739, and educated at Wadham College, Oxford, where he took his B.C.L. degree in 1768. His cure was at Gilmorton, but he lived many years at Kimcote, in Leicestershire, for which county he was a magistrate, and latterly at Lutterworth, where he died in 1792, being taken to Great Peatling for burial. By his first wife he had no issue, but by his second, daughter of a Nuneaton attorney, he left two sons. Charles Jervis, the elder, was an attorney at Hinckley, and lived at Stanton House, Stony Stanton: he died at Narborough in 1843, aged 67, and was also buried at Great Peatling. He left two illegitimate daughters, and the only other relative he mentions in his will is the daughter of his second-cousin, the Rev. Richard Jervis of Stoke Golding, to whom he left £200. This suggests that his younger brother, William Davies Jervis, of Hinckley, a Major in the Leicestershire Militia, also left none to carry on the name, and that, so far at least as the main stem is concerned, it is now extinct in the male line. The ancient manor house at Great Peatling is said to have been taken down about 1825, and a farmhouse built upon its site, so that the Jervises, who long were the principal family of the parish, are now scarcely even a memory there.

There is a curious point still to be mentioned. Tetty's great-grandfather, William Jervis, as we have seen, married Elizabeth, daughter of Humphrey Adderley. Now John Adderley, a brother of Elizabeth, married Jane, daughter of Sir Wolstan Dixie, the direct ancestor of the Sir Wolstan Dixie in whose house Johnson endured such "complicated misery" while an usher at Market Bosworth School.* But he probably never learnt of his wife's family connexion with the brutal and tyrannical baronet.

* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, v., 78-9.

CHAPTER II. HARRY PORTER AND HIS KINDRED

The Porter monument at Edgbaston—Harry Porter's relationship to the Edgbaston family—Settled by a process of elimination—The position of a mercer different in those days—The early Porters of Alvechurch—Henry Porter, the founder of the Edgbaston line; his daughters' excellent alliances—Thomas Porter of Bromsgrove—Robert Porter, the Birmingham sword-cutler and Parliamentary—Henry Porter, the Birmingham mercer, and father of Harry—Joseph Porter, the rich Hamburg merchant in London—Harry Porter, the first husband of Elizabeth Jervis, does not make mercering profitable—Johnson's Porter step-children—An extraordinary series of Porter-Johnson connexions through the Eboralls and the Nortons.

THE oldest monument in the church of Edgbaston, now a fashionable suburb of Birmingham, is a slate slab let into the wall at the west end, by the entrance to the belfry, the inscription on which runs as follows:—

*Here ly the Bodies of
Henry Porter Gent: &
W^m: Porter his Son Esq^r:
also y^e Body of Henry Porter
of Birmingham ob^t: 28th: Sept:
1710 æt^a: 60
And of Sarah his wife
ob^t: 16th July 1724 æt^a: 73.*

On the upper part of the slab, which one account says was outside the church till the south aisle was extended, is carved the Porter coat of arms, with the three church bells that make it so distinctive.

Now Henry Porter who died in 1710 was the father of Harry Porter, who preceded Johnson in the affections of Elizabeth Jervis, and who we know was of the Edgbaston stock. The problem is, Who were Henry Porter, gent., and William Porter, esq., his son, and how were they related to Henry Porter who died in 1710?

The first part of the problem is not difficult of solution to anyone who has made himself acquainted with the family history.* For

* As in the case of the preceding chapter, this account of the Porters is condensed from a full history of the family to be printed in Part VII.

Henry Porter, of Edgbaston, who was born in 1570 and died in 1619 or 1620, had an eldest son, William Porter, born about 1599 and died in 1633, who is the only member of the family we ever find dubbed "esquire." Their identity with the pair first commemorated on the monument can hardly be disputed, and we are now left to solve the second part of the problem by deciding their relationship to the younger Henry, for whose parentage, by reason of one of those "blind spots" that sometimes confront us in the most patiently constructed pedigree, it has not yet been possible to find direct evidence.

In the first place we must examine the inscription. It may seem strange that no dates should be ascribed to the "Gent." and the "Esq.," and that they should be left unrelated, except by inference, to time, place or person. But an explanation is easily provided. The monument was not contemporary with those worthies, but was erected after the death of Henry Porter in 1710. The lettering obviously belongs to the early eighteenth rather than the early seventeenth century, and moreover was all cut at the same time—that is to say, in 1710—except for the two lines added to commemorate Sarah, which are cut in a very similar "script" but with upright lettering and a differently formed diphthong, shewing a change of hand.

It is evident, therefore, that Henry Porter and William Porter his son, though they died as far back as 1620 and 1633, were here commemorated by a lapidary of 1710, who, either from motives of economy, or through lack of exact information (after such a lapse of time), did not put dates to them. It is clear that the family of Henry Porter must have attached considerable importance to the relationship, even though they left it unspecified, and that it must have been close to justify the gratuitous reference to two men who died nearly a century before the monument was erected.

Though, as already stated, there is no direct evidence on the point, there can scarcely be a doubt that Henry Porter who died in 1710 was grandson to the elder Henry and nephew to William Porter. On no other supposition could the relationship be brought within reasonable nearness. If we grant this, it follows that Henry Porter who died in 1710 was a son to a younger brother of William the "esquire," who himself, though married, left no issue. There were three of these younger brothers, Thomas Porter, Robert Porter and

Henry Porter. We know that neither Thomas Porter nor Robert Porter had any such son, and are left with Henry Porter, born about 1616, as the only possible father for Henry Porter who died in 1710, aged 60. There appears no practical alternative to this conclusion, and on it my account of the Porters will confidently be based.

The fact of Harry Porter, like his father before him, having been a mercer, would convey a wrong impression of his position in the social scale to those unacquainted with the different conditions of business in those days, when we often find younger sons of county families following employments, as chandlers, grocers, linendrapers, mercers or ironmongers, which to modern ideas seem very inappropriate to their position in life. The limited number of ways in which an educated man could earn a living at that time, who did not own land, or enter one of the few professions, made for a different scale of values in regard to trade. The pages of "*Burke*" would often read very differently if the occupations of earlier ancestors were baldly stated.

The Porters were hardly so well placed in the world as the Jervises, but the disparity was not sufficient to make an alliance between the families much cause for comment. They entered their pedigree at the Visitation of Warwickshire in 1619, when Henry Porter, the first mentioned on the monument we have been discussing, shewed himself as grandson of Robert Porter, of Alvechurch, in Worcestershire, and son of Thomas Porter, of Alvechurch and Edgbaston.

To Alvechurch, a village some ten miles south of Birmingham, we therefore go in quest of the early Porters. Robert Porter was a real individual there, but his origin is not clear. The family in his day had relatives in Coventry, the name of one of whom, Baldwin Porter, who was alive in 1557, suggests a connexion with the Baldwin Porter, of Birmingham, who died in 1499, whose wife was sister to Sir Thomas Littleton, the famous jurist. But the evidence is rather obscure and incomplete. Robert is the first definite ancestor, and he little more than a name. Of his two sons, Thomas, whom the Visitation pedigree describes as also of Edgbaston, was the elder: he married at Alvechurch in 1562, and was buried there in 1591, when the register distinguishes him as "gent." His children were baptized at Alvechurch, but none of them has any special interest for us except Henry, the eldest son to survive, who was born in 1570. This Henry Porter was the founder of

the family, as far as we are concerned: he is our friend of the monument, and the enterer of the Visitation pedigree. He was definitely of Edgbaston, where he was buried in 1619 or 1620, though he owned property at Alvechurch, as well as at Kings Norton and Birmingham. His wife was Anne, daughter of William Colmore, of New Hall, Birmingham, by Anne, daughter of William Fynney, of Cannock, in Staffordshire. When he married her in 1594 he allied himself with one of the leading families of the town, though as one of eight married daughters, with a brother, her portion is not likely to have been large.

Henry Porter and Anne Colmore had four sons and three daughters. The sons were William, Thomas, Robert and Henry. The eldest daughter was Sarah, who about 1630 married Samuel Eborall, esquire, a barrister of Gray's Inn, who was head of a family long settled at Balsall, in the parish of Hampton-in-Arden, in Warwickshire, for which county he was a magistrate, and whose father, an Oxford man, had been secretary to Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, and had chosen a wife akin to William of Wykeham. The second daughter was Joan Porter, who in 1630 became the wife of Waldivie Willington, squire of Hurley Hall, in the parish of Kingsbury, about a dozen miles north-east of Birmingham, whose family had long been seated there, and who, as an active Parliamentarian, was afterwards appointed Governor of Tamworth Castle. The third and youngest daughter, Anne Porter, married Thomas Norton, of Knowle, in Warwickshire, whose father, John Norton, had been Recorder of Warwick. These three marriages shew that the Porters had acquired a very good social status. Mrs. Willington's descendants can be traced in the *Landed Gentry*; of the descendants of Mrs. Eborall and Mrs. Norton some interesting particulars will be given later in this chapter.

And now to deal with the sons of Henry Porter and Ann Colmore. William, the eldest, already mentioned as the William Porter, esquire, of the monument, was of Edgbaston and Birmingham: born about 1599, he married a widow, but had no children, and died in August 1633. Thomas Porter, the second son, born about 1603, was a mercer at Bromsgrove, which is only a few miles from Alvechurch, and became a man of considerable substance. He married twice, and had a large family, a tablet in Bromsgrove church still recording his death in 1674. His family remained in their native town, and his grandson, one

Joseph Porter, preceded Johnson at Pembroke College, Oxford, by some 51 years, but did not distinguish himself further than by printing, in 1708, a sermon entitled *A Caution against Youthful Lusts*.

Robert Porter, the third son, was of Edgbaston, but also in trade as a sword-cutler. He had a "Blade Mill" in Digbeth Street, Birmingham, and being, like his brother-in-law, Waldive Willington, a keen Cromwellian, and a Captain in the Parliamentary Army, he manufactured only for his own side. The letter he wrote describing Prince Rupert's attack on the town in 1643, which he helped to repulse, is well known to local historians, and his mention of the fact that "the malignant are so enraged they have pulled down my Mill, and threaten to pull down my house and divers others," gives it a pleasantly personal touch. Robert Porter, who died in 1648, was a trustee of Field's Charity and of Lench's Trust, at Birmingham. His two sons, Josiah and Samuel, both continued as sword-cutlers, or "long-cutlers" as they were sometimes called. Samuel, who lived at New Hall, dabbled in coal mines, without benefit to himself or his relatives.

And now we are left with Henry, the fourth and youngest son of Henry Porter of Edgbaston by Anne Colmore his wife, and the "onlie begetter" reasonably possible for the Birmingham mercer of the same name whose parentage has so thoroughly eluded research. We know definitely that he was aged three at the Visitation of 1619; that under his father's will of the same year he was to inherit £200 and some purchased land at Alvechurch called Church Leasowe; that on 1 February 1635/6 he is described in a Chancery suit as "of Cambridge, gent."; and that he was alive on 31 January 1636/7. But after that he is a ghost. What he was doing at Cambridge we do not know: his name does not occur on the University books, but possibly he had been apprenticed to some tradesman there. There seems to be no one at a later date with whom he might be identified except "Henry Porter, gent.," who was churchwarden of Knowle in 1681, and was buried there on 6 October 1694, when "Mr. Porter" paid 1/- for making up "his father's grave." Moreover this Henry Porter, who was evidently a man of decent position, with a son, is himself otherwise unaccounted for. Knowle is but ten miles from Birmingham, and, as we have seen, Thomas Norton, who married Henry's sister, Anne

Porter, lived there, while the Eboralls, who were similarly connected with him, were at Balsall, a very few miles away.

Whoever his father, Henry Porter, the Birmingham mercer, must have been born about 1650. In 1672 he witnessed the will of Robert Smalbrooke, of Birmingham, mercer, to whom perhaps he had been apprenticed. He married about 1675, but his wife's maiden name is not known. In 1687 he was elected a Governor of King Edward's School at Birmingham. That is nearly all we can tell of him, except that he evidently prospered in his trade, and died in 1710, as recorded on the Edgbaston monument, the burial register describing him as "Mr. Henry Porter of Birmingham." We find him as a party to several Chancery suits, which reveal that in 1697 "Cozen Henry Porter" advanced money both to Josiah Porter and his brother Samuel, who, as we have seen, held undoubted place in the Edgbaston pedigree.

Henry Porter had five sons and five daughters, all born in Birmingham, but three of the daughters died in infancy and two of the sons, while of the youngest son, Edward, little is known. Joseph Porter, the eldest surviving son, is an important figure in the family story. Born in 1688, he was probably brought up as a mercer, but he was ambitious and migrated to London, where he prospered as a Hamburg merchant, with a house in Ironmonger Lane and another at Mortlake, while his portrait was painted by Hogarth. As a bachelor, of easy means, it is probable that the family owed much to him during his lifetime, and though, at his death in 1749, his nephew, Captain Porter, R.N., came in for the lion's share of his estate, his other relatives were not forgotten. And even the Captain's fortune came to Mistress Lucy at Lichfield in 1763.

Harry Porter, the second surviving son, was so christened at St. Martin's, Birmingham, on 12 July 1691 (the clerk spelling the name "harey"), no doubt to distinguish him from his father. He is called Harry in the wills of both his parents, and signs his own will so. It is clear, therefore, that Harry was his legal name, though in official records he is sometimes called Henry by scribes who probably looked askance at the familiar form. Under his father's will of February 1707/8 he was to have £400, when twenty-three, if he bound himself apprentice to his elder brother Joseph. No doubt he obeyed the

injunction, and got his £400 in 1714, when he would probably complete his seven years' apprenticeship. He did not wait long to marry. On 4 February 1714/5, as we have seen, a licence was issued from Lichfield for his marriage to Elizabeth Jervis, then of Warwick.* His bride was his senior by two-and-a-half years, a real disparity at his age, but as a descendant of a long line of small country squires she had compensating advantages in a good social position and a very decent portion. With the £600 she received under the Jervis settlement of 1703, and half the residue of her grandmother's estate, together with the old lady's household goods,† she would be a substantial help to a young man establishing a home of his own. Even in her looks, she was probably much more attractive than some later anecdotists would have us believe.‡

Harry Porter, beginning his life with excellent prospects, for some reason was not a success in business. It was not merely that when he died in September 1734 he was only forty-three and had not had time to accumulate: he actually lost money, and his widow had to make a resignation of his affairs to an attorney.§ He was, like his father, buried at Edgbaston, but there is no monument to his memory.

The three children of Harry Porter and Elizabeth Jervis, who all died unmarried, were born at their father's shop in Birmingham. They are all figures on the Johnsonian stage. Lucy, the eldest, born in 1715, who lived so long with old Mrs. Johnson at Lichfield, and was not too proud to serve in her little shop, maintained friendly relations with her distinguished step-father all along, and in the later days of her prosperity was able to entertain him with adequate ceremony at her fine new house, when he visited his native city. Jervis Henry Porter, the elder son, born in 1718, was a brave and capable naval officer, who, with private means inherited from his uncle, had a good house in Spring Gardens, in London, and kept excellent company; he alone refused to accept or meet his mother's strange second choice in husbands. But his bequest of his fortune to Lucy must have helped to soften any feelings Johnson had against him. Joseph Porter, the

* See *ante*, p. 6.

† See *ante*, p. 5.

‡ See *post*, pp. 26-8.

§ See *post*, pp. 32-3.

younger son, born about 1724, went into commerce, evidently under the ægis of the rich uncle whose namesake he was: in 1746 he went to Madeira for a few years, to represent the firm he had just helped to found in London, and animadverted to his sister Lucy at Lichfield on surroundings so dull that "none but a Philosopher or a Romantick Lover could live here without business." Most of his life he spent as a merchant at Leghorn, where he lies buried. We think of him as the accepted suitor of Anna Seward's charming young sister Sarah, whose death ended his middle-aged romance with such tragic suddenness. For a good many years before his death he and Johnson were on quite friendly terms.

To re-climb the family tree, and crawl along one of its branches, we see again how Sarah, elder daughter of the first Henry Porter of Edgbaston, about 1630 married Samuel Eborall, of Balsall, a barrister and county magistrate.* Now when we follow the descendants of this marriage we come across some very curious coincidences of family relationship. The youngest son, William Eborall, of Balsall, J.P., had a son Samuel, who married Harry Porter's sister Susanna; a daughter Mary who married Timothy Chambers, of Kings Norton, brother to the Jane Chambers who married Johnson's uncle, Samuel Ford, and father of the Mary Chambers who married his second-cousin, Thomas Jesson; and another daughter, Katherine Eborall, whose husband, Henry Lucas, of Guilsborough, in Northants., was no doubt nearly related to a rather earlier Henry Lucas, of Guilsborough, whose daughter Mary married Mrs. Johnson's first cousin, Jervis Bradgate, of Great Peatling, in 1678. Here is demonstrated an extraordinary genealogical tangle, by which Mrs. Johnson and each of her two husbands are shewn to be separately involved in a series of complicated relationships with the Eboralls. And when she espoused Harry Porter in 1715 William Eborall, of Balsall, another son of the same family, stood surety to the marriage bond.

When we follow the descendants of Mrs. Eborall's sister, Anne Porter, who married Thomas Norton,† we find ourselves in an even more remarkable welter of Johnsonian connexions. Their son, Edward Norton, who was a watchmaker at Warwick, had a daughter Anne,

* See *ante*, p. 16.

† See *ante*, p. 16.

who married John Hunter, Headmaster of Lichfield Grammar School, and when she died that dreaded preceptor of other famous men beside Johnson took to wife Harry Porter's sister Lucy in 1726. Again, Anne's sister, Israel Norton, married the Rev. Edward Holbrooke, who was assistant master under Hunter and also taught Johnson. But it is through Hunter's marriages that most of the connexions come. Among the children of his first marriage to Anne Norton were Anne, afterwards wife of that Rev. Samuel Martin whose resignation from Appleby School in 1739 caused the vacancy that Johnson unsuccessfully sought to fill;* and Elizabeth, who married the Rev. Thomas Seward, and mothered "The Swan of Lichfield," as well as Sarah Seward, the affianced of Joseph Porter,† who, as we now see, was a distant cousin. The daughter of Hunter's second marriage to Lucy Porter bore her mother's name: by her husband, the Rev. Thomas White, she had two sons, the Rev. Henry White, the young man to whom Johnson related the story of his Uttoxeter penance; and Thomas White, Proctor of the Ecclesiastical Court of Lichfield, executor of his cousin, Anna Seward, and grandfather of Sir Robert White-Thomson, whose selection in 1910 as first President of the Johnson Society of Lichfield was a tribute not only to his hereditary connexions but also to a personality of very exceptional distinction and charm.

Genealogy here provides us with no mere accumulation of dry bones, but with a presentment of a rich pattern of interesting human relationships. We see how pervading, how intricate, and how powerful were the ties of kinship that drew into a common association so many of those familiar to us in the Johnsonian circle, and vitally influenced their lives and their loves to the third and fourth generation. And if reinforcement be necessary for the conclusion as to Harry Porter's place in the pedigree, it may be found in all these connexions between his immediate relatives and undoubted descendants from the Edgbaston stock.

* See *post*, p. 103.

† See *ante*, pp. 19-20.

CHAPTER III. THE AMAZING MARRIAGE

Johnson licensed to marry Mrs. Porter—The Rev. William Lockett, who issued the licence—Why Derby was chosen for the ceremony—Disgust of relatives—The bride's three Porter children—The wedding preliminaries—Mrs. Johnson's appearance and manners—Garrick's ludicrous description of her—Anna Seward no more complimentary—Mrs. Piozzi softens the picture for us—Portraits not unpleasing—A tribute to her intelligence.

ON 8 July 1735 a licence was issued at Derby, by the Rev. William Lockett, Vicar of St. Werburgh's there, in his capacity of surrogate, for the marriage of Samuel Johnson, of the parish of St. Mary, in Lichfield, bachelor, aged twenty-five years, gentleman, with Elizabeth Porter, of the parish of St. Philip, in Birmingham, widow, aged "forty" years, the ceremony to take place either at St. Philip's or St. Werburgh's, between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon. Charles Howard, of the Close in Lichfield, gentleman and proctor, stood surety to the marriage bond*—the friend of Johnson's boyhood, and probably his schoolfellow, who was to become Erasmus Darwin's father-in-law.† "Sam^l Johnson of y^e parish St. Mary's in Litchfield and Eliz^h Porter of y^e parish of St. Phillip in Burmingham" were married at St. Werburgh's, Derby, on 9 July 1735,‡ no doubt by Mr. Lockett. The previous marriage in the church was on 4 July, and the next not till 20 July.§

We are not told, and no one has discovered, why Derby was chosen for the wedding. The Rev. William Lockett, who had been given the living in 1722, was a Cambridge man, of Cheshire origin, some twenty-three years the senior of Johnson,|| and it is not known that

* See Appendix A., p. 129.

† See *ante*, III., 133, 174-6; IV., 113-114.

‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 199. The entry as printed here is corrected from a photograph of the original.

§ *Derbyshire Parish Registers*, "Marriages," X., 52.

|| William, son of Jeffrey Lockett, of Marton, Cheshire, bapt. there 1 Jan. 1685/6, admitted sizar at Jesus Coll., Cambridge, 15 June 1707; matric. 1707; B.A. 1710/11; M.A. 1733; Perp. Curate of Siddington, Cheshire, 1712; Curate of Alveston, co. Derby, 1716-22; Perp. Curate of Osmaston, co. Derby; usher at Derby School, 1716-22; Vicar of St. Michael and St. Werburgh's, Derby, 1722-51. Burd. at St. Werburgh's, 13 May 1751 (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

they were acquainted. But there was one part of his career that almost brings him within the orbit of Johnson's early associations. For from 1716 to 1722 he was assistant master at Derby School under Anthony Blackwall, and when that famous pedagogue went on to Market Bosworth in 1723 Lockett acted as Headmaster until a regular successor arrived. It does not seem possible that Johnson was ever, as has been stated, usher under Blackwall, who died in 1730. But he at least appears to have known him, and there is quite a possibility that Lockett had made the acquaintance of the remarkable young scholar from Lichfield through their common schoolmastering connexions.* Lockett, by the way, who is said to have cured himself of consumption by drinking the waters from St. Alkmund's Well, at Derby, liked the quiet life, and when the rest of the clergy in the town, in 1715, were red-hot Jacobites, he preferred mowing his lawn to joining in politics.†

Boswell confesses his ignorance of why they were not married at Birmingham,‡ but Croker observes that "to escape the angry notice of the widow's family and friends seems an obvious and sufficient reason."§ And that, by itself, certainly is so. Johnson was a young man of twenty-five: Mrs. Porter was a middle-aged woman of forty-six—not the modest forty to which she confessed when the licence was applied for. He was practically penniless: she was possessed of a substantial sum of money. We can be extremely tolerant of such events when they have passed into the calms of historic fact, but most of us if alive at the time would have condemned him for cupidity and her for folly. The marriage was probably every whit as distasteful to his relatives as to hers, and both of them would be anxious to have it celebrated on neutral territory. This, however, does not explain why Derby specially was chosen.

Then there were her three children. Lucy, the eldest, was nineteen, and though we must imagine her to have been a quiet girl, and a dutiful daughter,|| she can scarcely have welcomed her mother's marriage, after only ten months' widowhood, to a man young enough to have

* B. Tacchella's *Derby School Register*, 1902, pp. xi., xlii.; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, v., 75-7.

† J. C. Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, IV., 115, 174.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 96.

§ Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 25.

|| See *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 241-3.

been her son, without means or even occupation. Jervis Henry Porter, the second child and elder son, who had entered the Navy (where he eventually rose to some distinction) about 1732, was a boy of seventeen;* while Joseph, the youngest, afterwards a merchant at Leghorn and the accepted suitor of Anna Seward's sister Sarah, was about eleven.† Both sons, we are told, "were much disgusted with her for her second marriage."‡ Captain Porter never became reconciled to it: though he survived to see his stepfather famous as the author of the *Dictionary*, and lived near him in London, he never mentioned him in his will;§ but Joseph, in later years, was on friendly terms with Johnson.||

We must listen to what Anna Seward says about Mrs. Johnson, however poor a witness we consider her:—

She had borne an indifferent character, during the life of her first husband. He died insolvent, leaving his three grown-up (*sic*) children, dependent on the bounty of his rich bachelor brother in London, who left them largely, but would never do any thing for the worthless widow, who had married "the literary cub," as he used to call him.¶

The "rich bachelor brother" was Joseph Porter the elder, a successful Hamburg merchant in London, who at his death in 1749 certainly made no mention of his sister-in-law in his will, though he was generous to her children.**

When Edmond Malone visited Johnson on an occasion early in 1783, he found him in his arm-chair by the fireside, deep in Hutton's *History of Birmingham*, published in the preceding year, which, he said, had "a peculiar merit with me; for I passed some of my early years and married my wife there."†† Probably Johnson did not say he actually married her there; but we can hardly expect verbal accuracy in a memory of this kind. At any rate, the marriage, as we have seen, took place at Derby. We are all familiar with Boswell's (or rather Johnson's) account of "their journey to church upon the nuptial morn": how the widow, to tease him, kept changing her pace, till he

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 236-8; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 16, 40; IV., 94-6.

† *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 238-40.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

¶ *Anna Seward's Letters*, 1811, ii., 348.

** *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 233.

†† James Prior's *Life of Edmond Malone*, 1860, pp. 92-3.

was compelled to assert himself by riding on ahead, out of her sight, and letting her catch him up, when he found the necessary effect had been produced and she was in tears. This display of what Boswell calls "manly firmness" took place where the "road lay between two hedges."* It is quite clear, however, that the incident did not belong to the "wedding morn," for Johnson had had to attend in Derby the day before to obtain the licence, and a ceremony that required performance before noon would not have allowed of a return "home," wherever that was. Harwood, writing in 1806 or earlier, said that Mrs. Porter, "after the death of her husband, a mercer at Birmingham, had retired to the Close, in Lichfield."† Harwood is an excellent witness, and he was probably going on good local information, which we should accept; but the records of the marriage, as we have seen, describe her as of St. Philip's parish, Birmingham.‡ She had apparently given up her house in the High Street there, as in 1735 Thomas Warren, the printer, occupied it.§ The probability is that the happy couple rode to Derby the day before the wedding, and put up for the night there, but whether they came the full forty miles from Birmingham, as Birkbeck Hill concluded,|| or only from Lichfield, sixteen miles away, must remain in doubt.

Boswell, after dwelling upon Johnson's uncouth appearance at this time, accentuated by his nervous disorder, thus continues his story:—

Mrs. Porter was so much engaged by his conversation that she overlooked all these external disadvantages, and said to her daughter, "this is the most sensible man that I ever saw in my life."

Though Mrs. Porter was double the age of Johnson, and her person and manner, as described to me by the late Mr. Garrick, were by no means pleasing to others, she must have had a superiority of understanding and talents, as she certainly inspired him with a more than ordinary passion; and she having signified her willingness to accept of his hand, he went to Lichfield to ask his mother's consent to the marriage, which he could not but be conscious was a very imprudent scheme, both on account of their disparity of years, and her want of fortune. But Mrs. Johnson knew too well the ardour of her son's temper, and was too tender a parent to oppose his inclinations.¶

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 96.

† Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 450.

‡ See *ante*, p. 22.

§ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, V., 106.

|| *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 249.

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 95-6.

The description of her given by Garrick to Boswell is that from which most people draw their mental picture of Mrs. Johnson:—

Mr. Garrick described her to me as very fat, with a bosom of more than ordinary protuberance, with swelled cheeks of a florid red, produced by thick painting, and increased by the liberal use of cordials; flaring and fantastick in her dress, and affected both in her speech and her general behaviour. I have seen Garrick exhibit her, by his exquisite talent of mimicry, so as to excite the heartiest bursts of laughter; but he, probably, as is the case in all such representations, considerably aggravated the picture.*

No doubt he did. Garrick was out to ridicule Johnson's amorous attentions to his spouse, and the more her appearance was caricatured, the more the comic effect was heightened. Bishop Percy has warned us against taking this description too seriously.† Moreover, at the Edial period, Garrick was at an age when any evidence of physical attraction between persons who have lost the bloom of youth appears ridiculous if not actually disgusting.

Anna Seward is quite as uncomplimentary in her description of the bride as Garrick:—

I have often heard my mother say she perfectly remembered his wife. He has recorded of her that beauty which existed only in his imagination. She had a very red face, and very indifferent features; and her manners in advanced life, for her children were all grown up (*sic*) when Johnson first saw her, had an unbecoming excess of girlish levity, and disgusting affectation.‡

But Miss Seward, who in later life describes her as Lucy Porter's "nauseous mother,"§ we never take seriously.

William Shaw, probably on the authority of Mrs. Desmoulins, said "she was still young and handsome."|| And Mrs. Piozzi does something to soften the picture painted by Garrick and Anna Seward:—

* *Op. cit.*, I., 99.

† "There was no great cordiality between Garrick and Johnson; and as the latter kept him much in awe when present, Garrick, when his back was turned, repaid the restraint with ridicule of him and his dulcinea, which should be read with great abatement; for, though Garrick, at the moment, to indulge a spirit of drollery, and to entertain the company, gave distorted caricatures of Mrs. Johnson and her spouse, it would certainly have shocked him, had he known that these sportive distortions were to be handed down to posterity as faithful pictures" (Percy's footnote, Robert Anderson's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed., 1815, p. 50).

‡ *Anna Seward's Letters*, 1811, I., 44; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 324-5.

§ *Anna Seward's Letters*, II., 103.

|| See *post*, p. 32.

Garrick told Mr. Thrale however, that she was a little painted puppet, of no value at all, and quite disguised with affectation, full of odd airs of rural elegance; and he made out some comical scenes, by mimicking her in a dialogue he pretended to have overheard: I do not know whether he meant such stuff to be believed or no, it was so comical; nor did I indeed ever see him represent her ridiculously, though my husband did. The intelligence I gained of her from old Levett, was only perpetual illness and perpetual opium. The picture I found of her at Litchfield was very pretty, and her daughter Mrs. Lucy Porter said it was like. Mr. Johnson has told me, that her hair was eminently beautiful, quite *blonde* like that of a baby; but that she fretted about the colour, and was always desirous to dye it black, which he very judiciously hindered her from doing.*

The "very pretty" picture of Mrs. Johnson which Mrs. Thrale saw at Lichfield would be the one reproduced in Mr. Roger Ingpen's illustrated edition of *Boswell's Johnson*, 1909, p. 39, described as "from an original painting formerly in the possession of Miss Lucy Porter."† This, painted no doubt when she was a young woman, certainly shews her as good-looking, and quite prepossessing. There is a portrait of Mrs. Johnson, perhaps from the same painting, in an interleaved copy of Harwood's *Lichfield*, at the Bodleian, p. 450.‡ And her presentment was to be included, wrote Robert Anderson in 1815, in a "collection which is preparing by Lady Bishop, of a series of portraits, and engravings, to illustrate his biography".§

* Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 148.

† Mr. Ingpen tells me that the original portrait is described (No. 555) in the *Catalogue of the Second Special Exhibition of National Portraits . . . on loan to the South Kensington Museum, May 1, 1867*, as "Bust; low blue dress. Oval, canvas 30 x 25 in. This and No. 562 [a portrait of Miss Lucy Porter] were left by Miss Lucy Porter to Rev. J. B. Pearson of Lichfield." The portraits of both mother and daughter were lent by Capt. G. F. Pearson, who still owned them in 1909, when, however, they were hanging at Nantlys, St. Asaph, the residence of his younger brother, Mr. Philip Pennant Pennant (see *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 16).

‡ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 248. But in R. B. Adam's *R. B. Adam Library relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and his Era*, privately printed, 1929, vol. I., among the plates at the beginning, is another portrait of Mrs. Johnson, "Engraved from an original Picture in the possession of Mrs. Pearson, Litchfield." The similarity of feature can be traced, but the hair, the dress, the position, and the general aspect are quite different. Yet this portrait, too, must have come from Lucy Porter, who left all the residue of her estate to the Rev. John Batteridge Pearson, of Lichfield (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 243; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 13-17), including the portrait of Mrs. Johnson that was afterwards in the possession of his grandson, Col. G. F. Pearson.

§ "Among the Lichfieldians are the interesting portraits of Gilbert Walmsley, Molly Aston, Tetty, Lucy Porter, &c. A drawing has been made for this collection from

William Shaw, whose principal authority for Johnson's early days was Mrs. Desmoulins, after mentioning the rumour that, in her later life, at least, she was addicted to drugs, draws quite a sympathetic picture of her:—

Mrs. Johnson was otherwise a lady of great sensibility and worth; so shrewd and cultivated, that in the earlier part of their connection, he was fond of consulting her in all his literary pursuits; and so handsome, that his associates in letters and wit were often very pleasant with him on the strange disparity, which, in this respect, subsisted between husband and wife.*

Johnson told Mrs. Thrale that his wife "read comedy better than any body he ever heard; in tragedy she mouthed too much."†

a picture of Miss Boothby, at Ashbourne-Hall, painted according to her directions in the following verses" (dated 25 Jan. 1751/2). Robert Anderson's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, p. 625. I presume that Lady Bishop's collection was not for publication. I cannot identify "Lady Bishop" of 1815. Shaw's *Knights of England*, 1906, shews William Bishop, Mayor of Maidstone, knighted in 1778 (II., 296), but no other of the name down to 1837. G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, under 'Bishopp,' shews that Sir Cecil Bishopp [1753-1828], 8th bart., mard. in 1782 Harriet Anne, only dau. and heir of William Southwell, of Frampton, co. Glouc., and that she died in 1839, aged 79. She was the only Lady Bishopp in 1815, and ceased to be so styled on 27 Aug. of that year, when the dormant Barony of Zouche de Haryngworth was called out of abeyance in her husband's favour.

* *Memoirs of Dr. Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, p. 111.

† Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 147.

CHAPTER IV. SETTING UP SCHOOL AT EDIAL

The scheme not carried out immediately after the marriage—His application to succeed the Rev. John Crompton at Solihull School—Rejected on account of his manner and facial tricks—He opens Edial "Academy"—Not cut out for schoolmastering—Few pupils, and they not too respectful—Mrs. Johnson's finances—Her family's disapproval of her second choice—First husband's insolvency—Her money all from her own people—Private school suggested by Gilbert Walmesley—Johnson's handicaps as a schoolmaster—Edial Hall and its identification—Pye's engraving of the building—Was it taken down after Johnson's death?—Algernon Gissing's visit to Edial—Shaw's account of its ownership—The Hammonds and the Notts—The deeds of Edial Hall farm settle the question of identification—Age of the original house—The history of its changed appearance—Stripped of its architectural embellishments—Its descent to a farm house—Johnson's servant at Edial who lived till 1801.

It has generally been assumed that Johnson's setting up of the school at Edial synchronized with his marriage to Mrs. Porter. But there was probably an interval between the two events. His letter to the Rev. Richard Congreve, only a fortnight before the wedding, in which he said he was "now going to furnish a House in the Country, and keep a private boarding-school for Young Gentlemen,"* suggests that the scheme was not yet far enough advanced to be completed so soon. Indeed we have evidence which makes it seem probable that no definite steps were taken in the matter of Edial for at least a month or two after the marriage. For among the records at Pembroke College, Oxford, is the following letter, addressed to Johnson's good friend, Gilbert Walmesley, of Lichfield:—†

Solihull, y^e 30 August, 1735.

SIR,

I was favoured with yours of y^e 13th inst. in due time, but deferred answering it til now, it taking up some time to informe the Fœœfees of the contents thereof; and before they would return an Answer, desired some time to make enquiry of y^e caracter of Mr. Johnson, who all agree that he is an excellent Scholar, and upon that account deserves much better than to be schoolmaster of Solihull.

* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, V., 116.

† *Ibid.*, ante, III., 171-4.

But then he has the caracter of being a very haughty, ill-natured gent., and y^t he has such a way of distorting his Face (w^h though he can't help) y^e gent. think it may affect some young ladds; for these two reasons he is not approved on, y^e late master Mr. Crompton's huffing the Fæoffeees being stil in their memory. However, we are all exstreamly obliged to you for thinking of us, and for proposing so good a schollar, but more especially is, dear Sir,

Your very humble servant,

HENRY GRESWOLD.*

Now Gilbert Walmesley had written to Mr. Greswold on 13 August 1735, five weeks after Johnson's marriage. It is therefore pretty clear that the newly-married pair had not yet committed themselves to the taking and furnishing of the house at Edial, as the Headmastership of Solihull School was not sufficient of a plum to encourage such a sacrifice as would have accompanied a sudden change in their plans. Solihull, it may be mentioned, is about seven miles south-east of Birmingham, and near that part of Warwickshire where Johnson's mother's people had lived.

Mr. Greswold's letter has led people to believe that the "late master Mr. Crompton" had been recently dead and buried, thus creating the vacancy Johnson sought to fill. But he was really very much alive, and was "late" only because he had, at the beginning of the year, suddenly accepted the Headmastership of Market Bosworth School, at the special invitation of Johnson's bugbear, Sir Wolstan Dixie, and in succession to John Kilby, under whom Johnson had acted as usher there in 1732. An Oxford man, Crompton had been at Solihull since 1704, and towards the end of his term he had a distinguished pupil in William Shenstone, the poet, who passed on to Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1732, as well as in Shenstone's friend and fellow-poet, Richard Jago. Jago, later in life, described Crompton, perhaps with some poetic licence, as a "pedagogue morose," who wielded a "birchen sceptre, stained with infant gore." It may have been his moroseness as much as his sudden departure for Market Bosworth that "huffed the Feoffeees," and made them anxious to secure a more normal and cheerful head than Samuel Johnson promised

* Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 24; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, VI., xlv. Henry Greswold, of Solihull, was son of the Rev. Henry Greswold, Rector of Solihull, Prebendary of Ripon and Lichfield, and Precentor of Lichfield, who died in 1700 (*William Salt Soc.*, "Staffordshire Collections," vol. II., part 2, p. 129; and Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

to become.* The successful candidate was the Rev. Richard Mashiter, who died in 1769, when his son, the Rev. Edward Holbech Mashiter, had perhaps already succeeded him.†

And now let us hear Boswell's version of the Edial venture, immediately following his account of Johnson's wedding:—‡

He now set up a private academy, for which purpose he hired a large house, well situated near his native city. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1736, there is the following advertisement:

"At Edial, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded and taught the Latin and Greek languages, by SAMUEL JOHNSON."

But the only pupils that were put under his care were the celebrated David Garrick and his brother George, and a Mr. Offely, a young gentleman of good fortune who died early. As yet, his name had nothing of that celebrity which afterwards commanded the highest attention and respect of mankind.

Boswell opines that had Johnson issued such an advertisement in the days of his celebrity, there would have been an immense response. But it does not follow. He goes on to point out that Johnson "was not so well qualified for being a teacher of elements, and a conductor in learning by regular gradations, as men of inferiour powers of mind." He then proceeds:—

Johnson was not more satisfied with his situation as the master of an academy, than with that of the usher of a school; we need not wonder, therefore, that he did not keep his academy above a year and a half. From Mr. Garrick's account he did not appear to have been profoundly revered by his pupils. His oddities of manner, and uncouth gesticulations, could not but be the subject of merriment to them; and, in particular, the young rogues used to listen at the door of his bed-chamber, and peep through the key-hole, that they might turn into ridicule his tumultuous and awkward fondness for Mrs. Johnson, whom he used to name by the familiar appellation of *Tetty* or *Tetsey*, which, like *Betty* or *Betsey*, is provincially used as a contraction for *Elisabeth*, her christian name, but which to us seems ludicrous, when applied to a woman of her age and appearance.§

* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, v., 230-37.

† *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, II., 359.

‡ His original note ran:—"He then opened an Academy at Edgehill near Lichfield. He had as Pupils Mr Offaly, David & George Garricks. He kept this but about a year & a half. Miss Porter then lived in family with him & her Mother." *Adam's Facsimile of Boswell's Notebook*. This information he got from Lucy Porter in 1776.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 96-9. Mrs. Nicholas, of Chichester, writing to Mrs. Hayley in Oct. 1785, after quoting Johnson's reflection on his dead wife, remarks:—"I suppose the word *Tetty* will afford much wit, it does appear *unjohnsonian*, but Tett was the abbreviation for Eliz^b in those days, in low and middle life" (see my article, "A New Admirer for Dr. Johnson," *The London Mercury*, Jan. 1930, p. 246).

It is interesting to refer back to William Shaw's earlier account of the marriage, and of the starting of the school:—

Mrs. Porter, whom he married, had been left a widow; her husband died insolvent, but her settlement was secured. Though she had three children, she was still young and handsome. The first advances probably proceeded from her, as her attachment to Johnson was in opposition to the advice and desire of all her relations. Her brother in particular offered to settle a very handsome annuity on her for life, provided she would break her engagements. But nothing would dissuade her. She brought her second husband about seven or eight hundred pounds, a great part of which was expended in fitting up a house for a boarding-school, which they had doubtless concerted between them. But this abortive scheme was likewise of short duration. He has left no documents by which to account for the failure.*

The brother who generously "offered to settle a very handsome annuity on her for life," if she would not tarnish the family honour by an unequal marriage, remains unidentified. Her eldest brother, Richard Jervis, who inherited the Great Peatling estate, had died ten years before, in 1725, and of her two younger brothers, William and Samuel, we have no information after 1703.† But it seems unlikely that either of them, unless he had engaged successfully in trade, would be in a position to pay so handsomely in support of his social prejudices. It is much more probable that the reference is really to her brother-in-law, Joseph Porter, the rich London merchant who gave stability to the family finances.‡ His idea in paying her an annuity would be to enable her to bring up his brother's children decently, but he would naturally object to his money helping to support a second husband, who had no claim on him whatsoever, and prefer under the circumstances to help the children directly.

Shaw's statements as to Mrs. Johnson's finances seem to be generally correct. That her first husband died insolvent is also stated by Anna Seward,§ and by Lady (Joseph) Knight.|| A letter of Johnson's to his Lichfield friend, Theophilus Levett,¶ dated 3 January 1743/4, explains how, when he married, his wife and he were advised to

* *Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 25-6.

† See *ante*, p. 4.

‡ See *ante*, p. 18.

§ See *ante*, p. 24.

|| *Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight*, 3rd ed. 1861, I., 314.

¶ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 176; IV., 10, 190.

resign Porter's affairs to "Mr. Perks an Attorney of Birmingham," who himself afterwards died leaving, it was believed, no effects,* in spite of his having been a prominent man with good local connexions.† It is uncertain to what extent Johnson and his wife suffered by this misfortune: they made a claim for £100, but their signatures are not on the deed which records payment of 7⁵/₄ in the pound to Perks's creditors, although the settlement was delayed until 20 November 1745, nearly two years after Johnson's thinking it was a matter of days.‡

* "When I married Mrs. Johnson who was her first husband's executrix, we by the advice of his chief Creditor made a resignation (I suppose legal) of all his affairs to Mr. Perks an Attorney of Birmingham. Soon afterwards Mr. Perks died, as was supposed, without any effects, and therefore We thought no more of the affair, but were lately accidentally informed that a Composition is offered, and then I wrote to Birmingham for Directions how to act, and received yesterday a Letter by which I am informed that the accounts are to be irrevocably settled on Thursday. Having not the papers at London, there is great danger, as I apprehend, that they cannot arrive soon enough. I have however sent Miss Porter directions to open a Cabinet, and bring it to you, and beg that you will find a Messenger to make the Demand in form" (*Letters of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 14-15).

† A cutting from the "Local Notes and Queries" column of *The Birmingham Weekly Post*, sent me by the late W. B. Bickley (Note No. 1443, probably about 1877), gives some account of Thomas Perks. He began as clerk to Edward Hare, of Park Street, Birmingham, who was Steward of the Manor, and on Hare's death in 1723 succeeded to his practice, carried on since 1685. A fellow clerk with him was Clement Fisher (a relative of Andrew Johnson's second wife—see my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 223). Perks was a strong churchman. He purchased a house in Temple Street: a letter from "a clergyman," dated 26 Dec. 1737, says that "Mr. Perks, the attorney, is dead, and it is generally supposed has left the world in such circumstances that his fine house and garden will be sold to the best bidder." In 1735 he married Anne (born 1711), dau. of William Jesson and sister of Pudsey Jesson: her aunt, Elizabeth Pudsey, had married Lord Folliot (*Forest and Chase of Sutton Coldfield*, 1860, Appendix IV.). The will of Thomas Perks, of Birmingham, gent., dated 1 Nov. 1737 and proved 20 Jan. 1737/8 in P.C.C. (Brodrepp, 18), bequeaths £500 to his brother, William Perks, and the residue to his wife Ann, his extrix. The wits. were Geo. Jesson, Mary Wickins and Martha Houlden. Thomas Perks was the third witness to Harry Porter's will on 22 May 1734 (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 234).

‡ Under a deed of 20 Nov. 1745, an 18th century copy of which is preserved in the Birmingham Reference Library (Deeds, No. 254555), the creditors "by simple contract" of the late Thomas Perks, of Birmingham, gent., decd., agreed to release his widow, Ann Perks, from the debts due to them, on payment by her of a composition of 7/4 in the pound. There are some seventy creditors enumerated, among them "Samuel Johnson, Gent., and Elizabeth his wife, exccx. of the last Will and Testament of Harry Porter, late of Birmingham aforesd. Woollendraper, decd." These creditors had found that Thomas Perks's personal estate and effects were "in a great measure exhausted by payment of his bond debts," and would "fall short of paying his debts,"

Hawkins, who knew little of Mrs. Johnson or her antecedents, says that Mr. Porter had "left her, if not well jointured, so provided for, as to make a match with her to a man in Johnson's circumstances desirable":—

With this person he married, his age being then about twenty-seven. Her fortune, which is conjectured to have been about eight hundred pounds, placed him in a state of affluence, to which before he had been a stranger. He was not so imprudent as to think it an inexhaustible mine; on the contrary, he reflected on the means of improving it. His acquisitions at school and at the university, and the improvement he had made of his talents in the study of the French and Italian languages,* qualified him, in an eminent degree, for an instructor of youth in classical literature; and the reputation of his father, and the connections he had formed in and about Lichfield, pointed out to him a fair prospect of succeeding in that useful profession.†

The idea of Hawkins, and his earlier biographer, Shaw,‡ that Mrs. Johnson's fortune amounted to seven or eight hundred pounds, agrees well with what we know of her circumstances, and Boswell's reference to "her want of fortune"§ may have arisen from an inability to realise how substantial such a sum would seem to a man in Johnson's position who had never possessed—at the best—more than would just meet his immediate wants. But the money was probably all her own inheritance, and the £600 which Harry Porter in his will desired she should receive out of his personal estate, under an agreement in their marriage contract, was no doubt the £600 that had been secured to her under the Jervis family settlement of 20 August 1703.|| In

and that his real estate was subject to his wife's and other interest. The schedule of debts includes £100 due to "Samuel Johnson & Elizabeth his wife execs. of Harry Porter deced.," for which the composition was £36.13.4. Most of the creditors signed the release and acknowledged receipt of their respective composition amounts. But a dozen or so signatures are missing, including those of Samuel and Elizabeth Johnson, Birkbeck Hill, quoting from Samuel Timmins's paper on "Dr. Johnson in Birmingham" (*Birmingham and Midland Institute, Archæological Section, Transactions*, 1876, printed 1880, pp. 39-46), mentions this deed (his *Boswell*, I., 95). I have a complete copy of it, and anyone who knows its length will realise my indebtedness to Mr. A. W. Read for undertaking the transcription.

* This gives the impression that he had only mastered them in manhood, and supports my suggestion (*ante*, V., 30) "that his knowledge of those languages was gained after he had left the University."

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 33-4.

‡ See *ante*, p. 32.

§ See *ante*, p. 25.

|| See *ante*, p. 5.

addition to this, she had received household goods and jewellery under her grandmother Jervis's will of 26 February 1700/1, with half the residue of the old lady's estate.* The £600 would constitute a prior claim on Harry Porter's estate, and she probably received the full amount, in spite of the condition in which he left his affairs, and lawyer Perks's subsequent insolvency at death. What the £100 claimed by the Johnsons from Perks's estate represented we do not know, but it would be something apart from the settlement.

After quoting Johnson's tribute to Gilbert Walmesley, Hawkins thus continues:—

The benevolent person, so gratefully remembered in the above encomium, knowing the abilities of Johnson, encouraged him in his design of becoming a teacher of literature: he suggested to him the taking a large house, situate in a place adjacent to Lichfield; which, however the name of it be spelt, the common people call Edjal: thither Johnson went, and with him young Garrick, who, though he had been educated in Lichfield school, and was then near eighteen years old, having been diverted in the course of his studies by a call to Lisbon, stood in need of improvement in the Latin and French languages.

The placing Garrick under the tuition of Johnson, was an act of Mr. Walmesley's, and resembles that politic device of country house-wives, the placing one egg in the nest of a hen to induce her to lay more: it succeeded so far, as to draw from the families of the neighbouring gentry a few pupils, and among the rest, a son of Mr. Offley, of Staffordshire; a name, that for centuries past, may be traced in the history and records of that country. But, so adverse were his fortunes in this early period, that this well-planned scheme of a settlement disappointed the hopes of Johnson and his friends; for, neither his own abilities, nor the patronage of Mr. Walmesley, nor the exertions of Mrs. Johnson and her relations, succeeded farther than to produce an accession of about five or six pupils; so that his number, at no time, exceeded eight, and of those not all were boarders. After waiting a reasonable time in hopes of more pupils, Johnson, finding they came in but slowly, had recourse to the usual method of raising a school. In the year 1736, he advertised the instructing young gentlemen in the Greek and Latin languages, by himself, at his house, describing it near Lichfield. That this notification failed of its end, we can scarce wonder, if we reflect, that he was little more than twenty-seven years of age when he published it, and that he had not the vanity to profess teaching all sciences, nor the effrontery of those, who, in these more modern times, undertake, in private boarding-schools to qualify young men for holy orders.†

An earlier account of the Edial experiment is given in Davies's *Life of Garrick*:—

* See *ante*, p. 5.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 35-6.

Mr. Samuel Johnson, about the beginning of the year 1736,* undertook the instruction of some young gentlemen of Lichfield in the belles lettres: and David Garrick, then turned of eighteen, became one of his scholars, or, to speak more properly, his friend and companion. But the master, however rich in the stores of Greece and Rome, was not better disposed to teach the precepts of learning with that exactness, which is necessary to form the classical scholar, than young Garrick was willing to learn them . . . After a trial of six months, Mr. Johnson grew tired of teaching the classics to three or four scholars; and he and his pupil Garrick agreed to try their fortunes in the great metropolis.†

There has been a great lack of interest displayed in the house at Edial where Johnson set up school on his own account, as Mr. Algernon Gissing pointed out in an article on the subject a few years ago.‡ In Harwood's *Lichfield*, published in 1806, is an engraving, dated 1805, by C. Pye,§ of "Edjall Hall, The residence of Dr. Samuel Johnson," facing this paragraph on p. 564:—

Ediall, a hamlet, two miles west of Lichfield, was formerly the property of the families of Wolverston, Ridding, and Burnes. The Hall is yet more celebrated, from having been the residence of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who kept a school in it in 1736. The house has undergone no material alteration since it was inhabited by this illustrious tenant.

In Harwood's account of Johnson, on another page (*ibid.*, p. 450), it is stated that "after his marriage he rented a house, near this city,

* William Shaw (*Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, 1785, p. 23) says that Garrick's biographer "mentions the beginning of the year 1735, as the time when Johnson undertook the instruction of young gentlemen in the Belles Letters at Litchfield." Fitzgerald also quotes "1735" from the same source (his *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 53). But in the edition from which I quote it is "1736," which, I presume, corrects an earlier edition.

† Thomas Davies's *Life of David Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, I., 7-9.

‡ "Samuel Johnson's Academy," *Cornhill Magazine*, Jan. 1923, pp. 50-60.

§ Charles Pye [1777-1864], a good engraver of small book illustrations, was elder brother of John Pye [1782-1874], the landscape engraver. They were sons of Charles Pye, of Birmingham (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). An almost identical view of Edial Hall is given in Roger Ingpen's illustrated ed. of *Boswell*, 1909, p. 43, which he tells me is reproduced from vol. I. of Bohn's illustrated ed. of Croker's *Boswell*, 1859, where it is described as "drawn and engraved by Chas. J. Smith from a Sketch by the late J. T. Smith." It is possible that John Thomas Smith [1766-1833], of "Rainy Day" fame, may have made his sketch from the building itself; but it is so little differentiated from Pye's, except in the matter of foliage, that I doubt it. Pye, as a Birmingham man, could easily have visited Edial. Charles John Smith [1803-38] was a generation younger. Perhaps he and Pye both engraved from J. T. Smith's sketch. I find that on 2 July 1807 the Rev. Henry White (see *ante*, p. 21) wrote to J. T. Smith asking him to come to Lichfield to make drawings of the windows from Lille recently placed in the Cathedral, and offering "accommodation" (*A Book for a Rainy Day*, ed. Wilfred Whitten, 1905, pp. 202-3).

called Edjall-hall." I have previously quoted Shaw's account of this "respectable old seat":—

It is a good square brick edifice, with a cupola and balustrades at the top, the whole being inclosed by a court and garden walls, lately the property of F. Nott, esq. It is now Mr. Ferne's,* by purchase, and occupied as a farm.†

Shaw's statement belongs to about 1800. When the Rev. Thomas Sedgwick Whalley visited Lichfield in 1810, he found that the house "was taken down in February 1809, and the materials sold."‡ Yet the Rev. John G. Lonsdale, Canon of Lichfield, stated in 1880 that "the house at Edial stands as it did in Johnson's days and has been very little altered—externally hardly at all."§ And, again, in 1875, one "Chr. Cooke" described having visited it, he thought in 1873,

when a back room on the ground floor was shewn to me as having been the schoolroom. Here and at Lichfield it was stated to have been Dr. Johnson's schoolhouse, and the old windows in the roof, the back gable, and garden tree, which I saw, favour this tradition. The observatory on the roof and the outer wall have been removed since the engraving was executed above mentioned [Pye's], otherwise the building seemed unaltered.||

And about 1921 Mr. Algernon Gissing examined it with greater thought and care:—

The property is now a somewhat dilapidated farmhouse, but though the alterations in Edial Hall Farm are obvious, some of the structure is clearly part of the very house in which young Samuel Johnson boarded the still younger David Garrick and other pupils in 1736. The extent of the change came also as a surprise, for I had always accepted the statement given by Napier in his edition of Boswell (1880) [Canon Lonsdale's already quoted]. The house has obviously not been altered since 1880, yet visitors might well be excused if they fail at first to recognise the present farmhouse as the place they are in search of. It is hard to see how Canon Lonsdale came to make such a statement as that recorded by Napier. Nothing, indeed, but the remains of the old gateway and two or three dormer windows came as a help to reconstruct the old picture. The imposing cupola and balcony crowning the high-pitched roof are, with the

* John Jackson's *History of Lichfield*, 1805 (p. 234), has "Mr. J. Fern." Harwood, in his ed. of Erdeswick's *Survey of Staffordshire*, 1820, p. 229, footnote, says that Edial "passed to Fettiplace Nott, esq. to Thomas Ashmole, and to John Fern, whose younger son, Robert, sold it, and the house was taken down in 1809."

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 13.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 81.

§ Napier's *Boswell*, 1889, I., 61.

|| *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, IV., 186.

old roof itself, entirely gone. The house can be barely half the size it was in Johnson's time. The few casual inquiries I made elicited no local information as to the change.*

Local opinion in the Lichfield neighbourhood seems to have weakened during recent years in identifying the present Edial Hall, an inconspicuous farm house about two-and-a-half miles west of Lichfield, as the actual building in which Johnson kept school, or even as standing on the same site. It has therefore escaped serious attention from Johnsonians, and Mr. Gissing did a service in re-identifying it as well as he could by a general inspection. In order to place the matter beyond dispute I suggested to Mr. P. Laithwaite, the science master at the Lichfield Grammar School, and its careful historian, that he should follow up some of his other interesting local discoveries by trying to get a sight of the deeds of the Edial Hall farm, in which probably lay the solution of the problem.

Shaw, the county historian, in his footnote on Edial Hall, tells us that "Thomas Hammond lived here, and I believe owned it, 1705, his heirs being Fettiplace Nott, esq., high steward of Lichfield; and two Hammonds; one wife of Adey of Lichfield deceased; the other of Francis Cobb, esq."† There is some truth and some error in this. Thomas Hammond, of Edial Hall, esquire, who had been a prominent citizen of Lichfield, died in 1702, leaving an elder son, another Thomas Hammond, born in 1683/4, who entered Rugby School in 1699, and was of "Edjall" in 1711. Sarah Hammond, the only daughter of the elder Thomas, married William Fettiplace Nott, serjeant-at-law, Steward of Lichfield from 1699 to his death in 1726, and their son, Fettiplace Nott, a Balliol and Middle Temple man, was Steward from 1762 to 1769, dying in 1775. This latter, in his will of 1773, charges his capital message called "Edjall Hall" with £40 in favour of his wife. But Felicia, wife of Joseph Adey, and Mary, wife of Thomas (not Francis) Cobb, were not co-heirs of the younger

* *Cornhill Magazine*, Jan., 1923, p. 51.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 13; or Shaw's *Staffordshire*, I., 355. Shaw was quoting from the Rev. Henry Sanders's *History of Shenstone* (printed by John Nichols in his *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*), in which the old mansion in the centre of the village is found associated "with Thomas Hammond of Edjial hall, near Lichfield, 1705; the heirs of which Thomas I take to be Fettiplace Nott, esq. high steward of Lichfield, and two Hammonds, one wife of . . . Adey, of Lichfield, deceased, the other of Francis Cobbe, esq."

Thomas Hammond, for they were only the daughters of his cousin, Richard Hammond, the Lichfield apothecary.*

Now when Shaw made his note, in 1800 or earlier, it would be common knowledge in Lichfield which was the house at Edial where Johnson had lived. If therefore the deeds of the present Edial Hall farm disclosed its past ownership as corresponding with the ownership of the authentic house, as given by Shaw, the identification of the two could be considered complete. So Mr. Laithwaite, by the kind permission of the present owner, Mr. Mayer, of Brocton, Staffordshire, set out on his errand of investigation, to the Bank at Stafford where the deeds were deposited, with his heart full of hope; and, though his time was short, he was not disappointed. The earliest document, a conveyance of 1704, shewed that the property then consisted of a large extent of land, in addition to the "tenement" and stabling, etc., and was in the possession of "Thomas Hammond." The next document, of 3 October 1716, was the conveyance by Thomas Hammond to Fettiplace Nott, esq., "of the Inner Temple." A later deed shewed that in 1811 the then owner, Richard Greenhough, conveyed the property to Henry Paternus Stich and Francis Stich, and named J. Ferne, a bankrupt, as sub-tenant. Thus was the chain of evidence completed, for the successive names of Hammond, Nott and Ferne are those given by the historians, proving that the present Edial Hall farm is the very Edial Hall of Johnson's academy.

Mr. Laithwaite says the deeds make it clear that the property, at the time in question, was let in lots to various people, and as Johnson's name does not appear among them he must have been a sub-tenant only. On the back of the 1704 deed are three roughly scribbled memoranda, the first reading:—"28th Oct. 1721, Recd. then of Mr. Porter, £10.10.0 for halfe a yeares use from y^e 10 of March last past 1720" (i.e., 1720/1). The other two are to the same import, the last being "6 June 1722 Recd. ditto." Mr. Laithwaite was naturally inclined to see in these notes a clue to why Johnson and Mrs. Porter pitched upon such an out-of-the-way place for their school, but I think it probable that the "Mr. Porter" mentioned was Robert Porter, of Lichfield, who had been a substantial citizen there since his marriage

* See *post*, Appendix B, p. 145.

in 1696, and had a country property at Hill Hall, Weeford. He was no known relative of Harry Porter.*

Of more interest is it to learn from Mr. Laithwaite that, when Thomas Hammond conveyed the property to Fettiplace Nott, in 1716, there were several mortgages on it, one of which, of the value of £120, was held by "John Hunter, Clerk," Johnson's old schoolmaster.

Having completed our identification of Edial Hall, we may now consider the question of its changed and humbled appearance, which has discouraged the idea that it could ever have been the striking structure shewn in the old pictures.† There can be no doubt that portions of the present farm house are quite old enough to have housed the young Johnson. Harwood, at another reference, tells us that, after successive ownership by the families of Wolferstan, Ridding and Burnes, Edial "passed to Thomas Hammond, who built the hall in which Dr. Samuel Johnson resided in 1736."‡ Now Thomas Hammond was of Edial as early as 1680, when he first appears as a trustee in the records of the Conduit Lands of Lichfield. He was born about 1649, and married first in 1675,§ so it is very possible that the Hall was, as Mr. Laithwaite considers, built by him soon after the Restoration, in common with many other substantial houses in and around Lichfield. As a man of considerable property, who had held all the principal public offices of the city, was a magistrate, and had taken his wives from the old local families of Wollaston and Thacker, he would require a good house and establishment, in keeping with the coach and horses that he left for the use of his widow.||

Weighing up the whole evidence, we must conclude that the house remained practically unaltered until February 1809, the date assigned by Mr. Whalley, and later by Harwood, for its taking down and the sale of the materials. We must further conclude that not the whole house, but only a portion of it, became the prey of the demolitionist. Built as a "gentleman's residence," it presented various

* See *post*, Part VII.

† See, for instance, Mrs. Clement Parsons's *Garrick and His Circle*, 1906, p. 19.

‡ Erdeswick's *Survey of Staffordshire*, ed. Thomas Harwood, 1820, p. 229, footnote. A footnote on p. 222 echoes Whalley's statement of 1810 (*ante*, p. 37), saying that "After his marriage, Johnson rented a house near Lichfield, called Edjall-hall, which, in Feb. 1809, was taken down, and the materials sold."

§ See *post*, Appendix B, p. 146.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 132.

rather eccentric architectural features which would be quite out of keeping with its subsequent use as a farm house. From the engraving in Harwood's *Lichfield* it appears that the pyramidal roof, instead of being carried up to an apex, was terminated about two-thirds of the way up to form a flat, surrounded by an ornamental balustrade, in the centre of which rose a tall cupola, or lantern, with a door in its side opening on to the flat. Now it seems evident that this elaborate structure must have been of timber, and so, in its very exposed situation, extremely liable to rot and injury. Probably the house had been neglected, and the whole roof, with its accessories, become dilapidated and even dangerous, allowing the wet to come through freely. To have restored it to its original condition would have been costly, and its subsequent maintenance quite beyond any justifiable expenditure on a farm house. So we must imagine all this superstructure at least to have been removed in 1809, and a plain, easily maintained roof substituted. The engraving shows three dormer windows on one slope of the roof and two on the other, just below the balustrade, which presumably had their fellows on the other two slopes that are not visible; as well as two tall chimneys rising out of the roof slopes, one resembling a miniature Cleopatra's Needle. The chimneys, in that form, have disappeared, but dormer windows are still a prominent feature. To what extent the house has actually been reduced in size might be difficult to discover, but everything by which its builder sought to give it individuality has vanished. How Canon Lonsdale came to say, in 1880, that it stood then as it did in Johnson's day, with hardly any external alteration, we cannot imagine, unless he considered it was only the roof that had been changed. Certainly the Canon, fifty years ago, saw it almost exactly as we see it today.

We have seen that in 1811 Edial Hall was conveyed to two members of the Stich family, which still lives close-by. Mr. Laithwaite interviewed its oldest representative, Henry Styche (as the name is now written), born in 1846, who spent his youth in the Hall, and is nephew to the purchasers. The uncles lived in the main building, while his father occupied one of the attached cottages, now used as stables. He clearly recollected his father telling him how, when the family came into possession, in 1811, one wing had been recently pulled down and some of the *débris* still lay about. His father stated

that the portion demolished had been part of the living side of the house, and what remained was mostly the servants' quarters and harness rooms. He strongly maintained that the building as it now stands is the larger part of the original structure. This all fits in admirably with the conclusions drawn from the evidence of the historians.

In all probability the house itself was somewhat of a drug in the market, and was being offered at a low rental, when Johnson was attracted to it as suitable for the purposes of a school. No doubt, as Hawkins tells us, Mr. Walmesley was the first to suggest the actual house, as well as the scheme.*

It is rather remarkable that a servant employed by Johnson at Edial in 1736 was still alive in 1800, or 1801, and the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* at that time appealed to his Lichfield readers to communicate particulars, but unfortunately without result.† There was an "old countryman," alluded to by a writer in *The London Magazine*, who recollected Johnson at Edial, with Garrick, and declared that though he was "not much of a scholar to look at," he shone at "leaping over dis-styles."‡ These references are both evidently to Charles Bird, who as a boy of about sixteen was Johnson's servant at Edial.§ Somewhere about 1753 Johnson wrote this note:—"I do not remember that since I left Oxford I ever rose early by mere choice, but once or twice at Edial, and two or three times for the *Rambler*."|| This says much for the invigorating air of Edial.

* See *ante*, p. 35.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, II., 80.

‡ Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, I., 54. Mr. Fitzgerald gives no more precise reference. Mrs. L. F. Powell has kindly searched *The London Magazine* for 1784 and Jan.-June 1785, and its continuation as *The New London Magazine* from then to 1791, but without finding the extract.

§ Mr. Laithwaite, when at Hammerwich, had the following interesting entry in the burial register pointed out to him by the Vicar, under date of 1 Oct. 1801:—"Charles Bird, of Burntwood, aged 81, servant to the celebrated Dr. Johnson when he lived at Edjall Hall in 1736." Burntwood is not far from Edial, and it is curious that Frank Barber "taught a school" there from 1797 till his death in Jan. 1801, his widow being still there in 1802 (*Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, II., 79-81). The two old servants would have been able to discuss their master's foibles from different angles.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 143.

CHAPTER V. END OF THE EDIAL VENTURE

The duration of the experiment—The Gentleman's Magazine advertisement; a last attempt to keep the school alive—Lawrence Offley and the Garrick brothers pupils—Twenty-seventh birthday—Desire to be assistant master under the famous Budworth at Brewood—The whole circumstances inquired into—Bishop Green and his acquaintance with Johnson; supposed ushership at Lichfield—Anna Seward's pretty story—Mrs. Emmet, the actress with whom Johnson "was in love"—The early miniature of him—His tragedy Irene started at Edial—Scheme of study to prepare his cousin Samuel Ford for the University: a blunder of Boswell's explained and the facts elucidated.

BEARING in mind that Johnson and Garrick left Lichfield to try their fortunes in London on 2 March 1736/7,* we are now in possession of all the purely literary evidence by which we can estimate the period of Johnson's keeping school at Edial. It must have been after his marriage on 9 July 1735,† so that we are left twenty months to deal with. If we consider the application for the headmastership of Solihull School, which was not refused by the feoffees until the end of August 1735,‡ proof that the Edial school cannot then have been opened, we are left with the "year and a half" that Boswell named as the outside limit of its duration.§ With more evidence to guide us the period could probably still further be reduced. It will have been noticed that Tom Davies, who claimed to have got his information of Garrick's early life direct from Johnson,|| says that the school was started "about the beginning of the year 1736," and that it only had "a trial of six months."¶ But it is probable that, as the project had definite shape in Johnson's mind and the very house had evidently been selected at least a fortnight before his marriage,** he would not delay long after his failure at Solihull, at the end of August 1735, to carry it out. If he did so, it would give the school a rather longer life than six

* See *post*, p. 56.

† See *ante*, p. 22.

‡ See *ante*, p. 29.

§ See *ante*, p. 31.

|| Thomas Davies's *Life of Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, "Advertisement."

¶ See *ante*, p. 36.

** See *ante*, p. 29.

months, for certain, as the advertisement which Boswell quoted appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for the June (p. 360) and July (p. 428) of 1736.* In each case it appears on the last page of the issue, and its exact form is as follows:—

AT EDIAL, near *Litchfield* in *Staffordshire*, Young Gentlemen are Boarded, and Taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, by

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

According to Hawkins's account the advertisement was inserted, not to inaugurate the school, but "after waiting a reasonable time in hopes of more pupils" than the half dozen or so he had been able to scrape together,† in which case, as it brought no response, it was a kind of dying kick on Johnson's part.

Croker, on the Edial advertisement, says that "this project must have been formed before his marriage, for the advertisement appears in the magazine for *June* and *July* 1736."‡ But Croker, in company with Nichols, in his *Leicestershire*, thought that the marriage was on 9 July 1736, instead of 9 July 1735, and reasoned accordingly. As Johnson, when his wife died, inaugurated this very error himself, we cannot blame the authorities for having been led astray.§

There is another date we can attach to the argument. Boswell tells us that one of the Edial pupils was "Mr. Offley, a young gentleman of good fortune who died early,"|| described by Hawkins as "a son of Mr. Offley, of Staffordshire; a name, that for centuries past, may be traced in the history and records of that country."¶ Now this pupil can be identified as Lawrence Offley, born in Staffordshire, who was admitted a Fellow Commoner of Clare College, Cambridge, on 11 November 1736, and matriculated in 1737. Younger son of Crewe Offley, of Wichnor Park, some half-dozen miles north-east of Lichfield (who was M.P. for Bewdley in 1727 and 1729, and a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber), by Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Lawrence, of Chelsea, bart., he "died early," as Boswell says—to be

* William Shaw says that "in May, 1736, we find him advertising a boarding-school at Edial near Litchfield" (*Memoirs of Dr. Johnson*, 1785, p. 24). But I cannot find it in *The Gent.'s Mag.* for May.

† See *ante*, p. 35.

‡ Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 25.

§ See my *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 235.

|| See *ante*, p. 31.

¶ See *ante*, p. 35.

more precise, in 1749, aged 30. We can call genealogy to our assistance here, for Crewe Offley was a first cousin of Sir Thomas Aston, whose daughter Magdalen married Gilbert Walmesley in April 1736.* So that if it was that good friend who encouraged Johnson to open the school at Edial, we can trace his influence too in the placing of Lawrence Offley there as well as David Garrick. Taking the middle of 1736 as the time when we can be certain the school was "functioning," Lawrence Offley would then be about seventeen, David Garrick turned nineteen,† and George Garrick not yet thirteen.‡ According to William Shaw, John Hawkesworth was among the number of Johnson's pupils on this occasion;§ but as the year of his birth has been variously stated as 1715 and 1719,|| we cannot calculate his age with any satisfaction. And there was nothing in their later intercourse to support the idea that they had ever stood in the intimate relation of master and pupil.¶

Boswell quotes the following "minute" by Johnson, which, though we cannot at present actually prove it, was almost certainly written at Edial:—

* See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 240. A footnote in Robert Anderson's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, describes the pupil as "son of Mr. Offley of Whichenoure Park in Staffordshire" (3rd ed. 1815, p. 53).

† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

‡ Percy Fitzgerald's *Life of Garrick*, new ed. 1899, p. 4. In a footnote on p. 10 Fitzgerald quotes a letter from the youthful Garrick to his father (apparently of 21 Jan. 1731/2) in which he says:—"I have been to Mr. Otley's, who sent a man and horse for me, with Mr. and Mrs. Hervey and Mr. Walmesley, were I got acquainted with his two sons, who are fine young gentlemen. Mr. Walmesley gave me slyly half-a-crown for y^e butler, and then for the groom and for myself, which made me look very grand." I have no doubt that "Otley" is an error for "Offley," and that one of the "fine young gentlemen" was his future schoolfellow at Edial. Mrs. Clement Parsons, I find, in her *Garrick and his Circle*, 1906, prints the name as "Mr. Offley" (p. 14), and identifies him as father of the Edial pupil (p. 19).

§ *Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 23-4.

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 221.

¶ In a letter of Johnson's to Mrs. Desmoulins, on 5 Aug. 1775, he asked her to tell Garrick "that Dr. Hawkesworth and I never exchanged any letters worth publication," and that he could "remember nothing" that would "do any honour to his memory" (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 365-6). See also Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 32, for Johnson's remark that all his biographers must go to Hawkesworth for anecdotes of his life after he came to London. "I lived in great familiarity with him (though I think there was not much affection) from the year 1753 till the time Mr. Thrale and you took me up."

Sept. 7, 1736. I have this day entered upon my twenty-eighth year. "Mayest thou, O God, enable me, for JESUS CHRIST's sake, to spend this in such a manner that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death, and in the day of judgement! Amen!"*

It may be mentioned that Johnson's godfather, Dr. Samuel Swynfen, died in Birmingham on 10 May 1736, but being encumbered with a large family, he did not, like Richard Wakefield, remember his godson in his will.† A very much more important incident is attributed to this same year, for Hawkins tells us that Johnson,

in 1736, made overtures to the Rev. Mr. Budworth, then master of the grammar-school at Brerewood, in Staffordshire, and who had been bred under Mr. Blackwall, at Market Bosworth, to become his assistant; but Mr. Budworth thought himself under a necessity of declining them, from an apprehension, that those convulsive motions to which Johnson through life was subject, might render him an object of imitation, and possibly of ridicule, with his pupils.‡

This story Hawkins derived from *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, p. 3, where it appears in a letter, dated 4 January, from John Nichols:—

One little circumstance, which has no where yet appeared in print, I can relate to you on the best authority. In 1736 Dr. J. had a particular inclination to have been engaged as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Budworth, then head master of the Grammar-school at Brewood in Staffordshire, "an excellent person, who possessed every talent of a perfect institutor of youth, in a degree which," [to use the words of one of the brightest ornaments of literature,§] "has been rarely found in any of that profession since the days of Quintilian." Mr. Budworth, "who was less known in his life-time, from that obscure situation to which the caprice of fortune oft condemns the most accomplished characters, than his highest merit deserved," had been bred under Mr. Blackwell at Market Bosworth, where Johnson was some time an usher; which might naturally lead to the application. Mr. Budworth was certainly no stranger to the learning or abilities of Johnson; as he more than once lamented his having been under the necessity of declining the engagement, from an apprehension that the paralytic affection, under which our great Philologist laboured through life, might become the object of imitation or of ridicule, among his pupils.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 70.

† See *ante*, V., 99.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 32.

§ Bishop Hurd, in a dedication of 21 June 1757, to his old pupil, Sir Edward Littleton, 4th bart. (see Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 332-3; also VI., 469).

Nichols gives this again, but not so fully, in his *Literary Anecdotes* (III., 333-4). As Budworth had left school before 26 February 1716/7,* and as, in all probability, Johnson's connexion with Market Bosworth School was not till two years after Anthony Blackwall's death in 1730,† I am inclined to doubt Nichols's suggestion that Johnson's wish to serve under Budworth arose from his ushership there. It was many years after this that the pretty—but illegitimate—daughter of "Mrs. Vaughan," Budworth's housekeeper, by John, Viscount Lisburne, married, firstly, the Rev. Watson Hand, and, secondly, Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, both her husbands being Lichfield men, and the second certainly a friend, and schoolfellow, of Johnson's.‡

We have no reason to doubt Nichols's ascription of the Brewood application to 1736. At least we know now, what was previously uncertain, that Budworth was in actual charge of the Grammar School there at that time. He succeeded the Rev. James Hillman, whose burial in May 1731 has been discovered at Kinver. Budworth was appointed from Rugeley Grammar School, where he had been Headmaster since 1728. But as the schoolhouse at Brewood was in a state of disrepair, his actual removal from Rugeley was delayed some two years till it had been made habitable. Richard Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, and later of Worcester, began his schooling under Hillman at Brewood, and then, anxious to have the advantage of Budworth's teaching, spent the two years under him at Rugeley, returning to Brewood with that famous master when the schoolhouse was to his satisfaction. So we may assume that Budworth was in full control at Brewood from some time in 1733.§

* When he was admitted a sizar at Christ's College, Cambridge, aged 17 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

† See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 75-8.

‡ See *ibid.*, IV., 197, 200.

§ The Bishop's records at Lichfield, which should tell us when Budworth was licensed to the headmastership at Brewood, are unfortunately missing for that period. Mr. William N. Landor informs me that his licence to the Grammar School at Rugeley was dated 3 Aug. 1728, his predecessor, the Rev. John Deakin, having died in Sept. 1727. But there is no record to shew when he left, to make way for his successor, the Rev. Joseph Bradley (*Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Rugeley," introduction by W. N. Landor, p. xiv.), who had taken his B.A. at Jesus Coll., Camb., in 1711/12 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). Unfortunately the records of Brewood School are even scantier than those of Rugeley. The first Master known was the Rev. James Hillman, M.A., whom a Chancery suit of 1726 described as "aged, sickly, and infirm" (William Parke's *Notes and Collections relating to Brewood*, 1858, pp. 44, 47, 105)—prematurely so, for James,

There is no means of fixing more exactly the date of Johnson's application to Brewood, but probability would suggest that it was towards the end of the year, when the failure of the Edial experiment was becoming more painfully evident.* We shall see in the next chapter how Johnson set out with David Garrick to try his fortune in London on 2 March 1736/7,† shewing that all hope of forming a school at Edial was by then abandoned. And there is now another date that points to the same conclusion, for when George Garrick was admitted to the Latin School of Appleby on 16 February 1736/7‡ we may feel

son of John Hillman, of Kinver, co. Staffs., *pleb.*, matric. 10 Oct. 1693, aged 16, from Pembroke Coll., Oxford, and took his B.A. in 1698 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). Budworth was Hillman's immediate successor, so that the vital date to discover was that of Hillman's death. This eluded research for some time, but an enquiry of the Vicar of Kinver at last revealed that "The Revd. Mr. James Hillman Master of the Free School of Brood" was burd. there on 12 May 1731. Bishop Hurd's third-person "Dates of Some Occurrences in my own Life" (*Works*, 1811, vol. I., p. viii.) includes this passage:—"There being a good Grammar School at Brewood, he was educated there under the Reverend Mr. Hillman, and, upon his death, under his successor, the Reverend Mr. Budworth—both well qualified for their office and both very kind to him. Mr. Budworth had been Master of the School at Rudgely; where he continued two years after his election to Brewood, while the Schoolhouse, which had been much neglected, was repairing. He was therefore sent to Rudgely immediately on Mr. Budworth's appointment to Brewood, returned with him to this place, and continued under his care, till he went to the University" (see also Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 332, VI., 469-70). We can now assign approximate dates to these rather confused proceedings. Richard Hurd, who was born 13 Jan. 1719/20, at Congreve, must have entered Brewood School some time before Mr. Hillman's death in May 1731, and Budworth's succession to the Headmastership there would no doubt follow pretty closely after that date. Hurd would then be transferred to Rugeley School, and after two years, say in the summer of 1733, would return to Brewood with Budworth, whose official residence had by then been put into repair. Who looked after the School during this two years without a resident head does not appear. Hurd was admitted to a sizarship at Emmanuel Coll. on 3 Oct. 1733 (probably about the time of his return to Brewood), but, having secured his sizarship, did not enter into residence at Cambridge until 1735 (the date of his matriculation: see Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*), so from 1733 to 1735 he was Budworth's pupil at Brewood. The great point established, however, is that Budworth took up his duties at Brewood in 1733, leaving no doubt as to his being there in 1736, when we are told Johnson applied. The previous uncertainty was accentuated by the fact that Budworth was Vicar of Brewood in succession to John Moss, who died 24 Nov. 1737, aged 85 (Parke's *Brewood*, pp. 26, 40), and there was an inclination to assume that the two offices, of Vicar and Headmaster, marched together.

* In a letter to Mrs. Thrale, of 25 May 1780, Johnson wrote:—"Sir Edward Littleton's [see *ante*, p. 46] business with me was to know the character of a candidate for a school at Brewood in Staffordshire; to which, I think, there are seventeen pretenders" (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 161).

† See *post*, p. 56.

‡ See *post*, p. 104.

pretty sure that Johnson's educational experiment was over, as George, with his brother David, had been one of the boys placed there to encourage its success.* In all probability the school had petered out by the end of 1736.†

Thomas Tyers says that it was while conducting his academy in 1735 that Johnson "formed an acquaintance with the late Bishop Green, then an usher at Lichfield, and with Mr. Hawkins Browne."‡ The latter, however, had been his schoolfellow at Lichfield Grammar School.§ As regards John Green, he had taken his degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1727/8, while on 6 April 1731 he was elected a Fellow of his College, and on 3 March 1731/2 instituted Vicar of Hinxton, Cambridgeshire, on the presentation of Jesus College.|| So he certainly cannot have been usher at Lichfield at any time during the Edial period. Michael Tyson, the younger, on 27 May 1779, wrote as follows to William Cole, in a brief account of Bishop Green:—

In the year 1728 he took his degree of B.A. with great credit, and being a very good classical scholar he soon afterwards procured the place of Usher of Lichfield School. The celebrated Dr. S. Johnson was then master and David Garrick was one of his scholars. He continued usher only one year and in 1730 he was elected Fellow of St. John's, and soon after the Bishop of Ely procured him the Vicarage of Hingston.¶

The middle sentence of what I have quoted is, of course, full of confusion. Johnson was never "master" of Lichfield School, and, though we have no definite record of his career from the time of his leaving Oxford, on 12 December 1729,** to 30 October 1731,†† when he wrote his letter to Gregory Hickman, it has never been suggested that

* See *ante*, p. 31.

† It is interesting to find that an early biographical account of Johnson, in D. E. Baker's *Companion to the Play-House*, 1764, vol. II., states that he "received his Education and took his Degrees at the University of Oxford, after quitting which Place I have been informed he for some Time was Master of a private Academy at Litchfield—A Genius like his, however, could not long content itself with that most disagreeable of all Drudgery, the mere classical Instruction of Youth, nor suffer its Brightness to be conceal'd in the dull obscurity of a Country Academy."

‡ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 340-1.

§ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 123.

|| *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. R. F. Scott, Part III., pp. 370-1; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

¶ *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. R. F. Scott, Part III., p. 370.

** See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, V., 53.

†† *Ibid.*, V., 64.

he was an assistant-master there at any time.* But, in accordance with Tyson's statement, Green's ushership must have belonged to his pre-fellowship days, and his twelve months of service in that capacity must have covered some portion at least of 1729 or 1730, and perhaps have coincided with part of David Garrick's pupilage there, which was interrupted about this time by a visit to his uncle David at Lisbon.† And Johnson may well have made Green's acquaintance during his ushership—indeed he could hardly have helped doing so.

In explanation of Anna Seward's metrical assertion that

"modest GREEN, in Lichfield grove,
With NEWTON, tun'd his lute to love,"

a footnote, presumably of Sir Walter Scott's, tells us that at the period of Green's ushership under the Rev. John Hunter, he "and Dr. Newton were rivals in their attachment to the late Mrs. Seward, the author's mother, and then Miss Hunter, whose beauty was the theme of their muse."‡ Many of Miss Seward's romances break down under

* See, however, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, V., 101-2, for my suggestion that he may have taught there in August 1734.

† See Thomas Davies's *Memoirs of Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, I., pp. 3-7; Percy Fitzgerald's *Life of Garrick*, new ed. 1899, pp. 5-8. There is a sad paucity of accurate dates in Garrick's early life.

‡ *Anna Seward's Poetical Works*, ed. Walter Scott, 1810, II., 336. For Miss Hunter's portrait, see ante, I., 10. Hunter, we are told, "had a remarkably stern look, and Dr. Johnson said, he could tremble at the sight of Miss Seward, she was so like her grandfather" (Birkbeck Hill's *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, II., 414). Sir Walter Scott, who was honestly struck with Miss Seward's appearance, whatever he thought of her poetry, says that "her eyes were auburn, of the precise shade and hue of her hair, and possessed great expression. In reciting, or in speaking with animation, they appeared to become darker; and, as it were, to flash fire." He says that he should have hesitated to state this impression, if it had not been confirmed by Mrs. Siddons, in conversation with him (*Anna Seward's Poetical Works*, ed. Walter Scott, I., xxii.-iii.). It is remarkable that neither he nor anyone else seems to have noticed how Miss Seward attributes a similar optical quality to her mother, in a letter of 1764, where, speaking of that good lady's anger at some youthful "sauciness," she describes how "her eyes began to grow dark and to flash. 'Tis an odd peculiarity; but the balls of my mother's eyes change from brown into black, when she feels either indignation or bodily pain" (*ibid.*, I., cxxi.). It is interesting to trace the "pedigree" of this remarkable physical characteristic, vouched for by independent witnesses. And, incidentally, we can see how lightly Sir Walter took the editorial duties thrust upon him by Miss Seward's will, for, though he wrote the "Biographical Preface," he must have jibbed at even reading the "Extracts from her Literary Correspondence" that followed, or he would certainly have noticed this reference. I find that Miss Seward describes her grandfather, the dreaded Hunter, to Erasmus Darwin, as "a man who amused his leisure hours with music, sung well, and

the cruel strain of chronological tests, but, as Elizabeth Hunter was born in 1712 (and did not marry the Rev. Thomas Seward until 1741), it is just possible that the future bishop may really have paid court to her, though little more than a school-girl.

At Lichfield, in 1776, Johnson playfully told Boswell, "Forty years ago, Sir, I was in love with an actress here, Mrs. Emmet, who acted Flora, in *Hob in the Well*."* If we were to base an exact calculation on this remark, it would appear that it must have been in 1736, the year following his marriage, while he was at Edial, that this romantic fancy seized him. Mrs. Emmet is unknown to dramatic history, and no doubt she was a humble member of some travelling company.†

The miniature of Johnson, said to have been the first portrait painted of him, was attributed in 1818, apparently by its then owner, Dr. Harwood, the historian of Lichfield, to "about the year 1736, when he was in his twenty-eighth year."‡ This, strictly interpreted, would mean after 18 September 1736. Without being so meticulous, we can at least feel pretty sure that the portrait represents him in that short period of comparative affluence that followed his marriage to a widow with means, as at no other time in his early life would he have been likely to indulge in such a piece of extravagance; and then, no doubt, only because his new-made wife desired it.

With Edial is associated one of Johnson's most sterile literary performances. For it was while there that he began and wrote "a great part of his tragedy of *Irene*,"§ which, so far as Boswell could discover, was all the original work he produced while he "kept his Academy."||

played tolerably on the bass-viol" (*Anna Seward's Letters*, 1811, II., 275). It is interesting to read the impression Miss Seward made on Mrs. Sherwood (Mary Martha Butt, see *ante*, IV., 132), a witness prejudiced against her, in 1789:—"She was the first female, and perhaps I may almost say the last, who ever gave me an idea of that overpowering fascination which is described as being independent of either youth or beauty" (*Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood*, ed. F. J. Harvey Darton, 1910, p. 81).

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II, 464-5. "This play was Cibber's *Hob; or The Country Wake*."

† See Appendix C, *post*, p. 148.

‡ See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, II., 85.

§ An earlier play with the same theme, entitled "*Irene, or the Fair Greek*," a tragedy by Charles Goring, had been published in 1708 (D. E. Baker's *Companion to the Play-House*, 1764, vol. I.)

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 100. See also *post*, pp. 57, 69, 73, 118.

"He kepted a schüle and cau'd it an acaadamy," sneered Lord Auchinleck, with sovereign contempt*, but it seems to have been his own son, rather than Johnson himself, who so described it. Peter Garrick, eldest brother of David, and then a young naval man of twenty-six,† lent Johnson Richard Knolles's *General History of the Turks* (1603) to assist him in writing the play.‡

In order to prove, in connexion with Edial, "that Johnson well knew the most proper course to be pursued in the instruction of youth," Boswell printed what he calls "the following paper in his own hand-writing, given about this period to a relation, and now in the possession of Mr. John Nichols." It is headed "Scheme for the Classes of a Grammar School," and is signed at the foot "Sam. Johnson,"§ but it required no particular gift of divination on Croker's part to see that "Mr. Boswell was mistaken in supposing this to have been *one* paper. It is clear that there are two separate schemes, the first for a school—the second for the individual studies of some young friend."|| This is where the commentators, including even Birkbeck Hill, have left the matter. But it can be carried much further. If we turn to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, p. 266, we find the following letter:—

Ross, Herefordsh. Apr. 6.

MR. URBAN,

I have sent you the inclosed MSS. of the late Dr. Johnson, communicated to me by a friend, a worthy and respectable clergyman, with his permission for publication. The directions were given by the Doctor at Lichfield (some time about his marriage) to a relative, and the scheme was drawn about the same period. I am, &c. S. P.

The "inclosed MSS." turn out to be the identical "Scheme for the Classes of a Grammar School," and what Croker calls the scheme "for the individual studies of some young friend." They are here separated by a ruled interspace, and it is quite clear from the letter that they must have been written on different sheets. It seems evident, therefore, that Boswell took these schemes from the printed version, and not from the

* Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 397.

† Percy Fitzgerald's *Life of Garrick*, new ed. 1899, p. 4.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 100.

§ *Ibid.* I., 99-100.

|| Croker's *Boswell*, new ed., 1890, p. 26.

original as he suggests, and the absence of any kind of title or heading to the second one led him carelessly to run them both together, with rather puzzling results for the casual reader. If he had had the originals before him, on separate sheets, he would scarcely have made this error.

The second document opens as follows, with a curious absence of preliminaries:—

I know not well what books to direct you to, because you have not informed me what study you will apply yourself to. I believe it will be most for your advantage to apply yourself wholly to the languages, till you go to the University. It then proceeds to give a list of Greek and Latin authors for the student to read, and concludes:—

The greatest and most necessary task still remains, to attain a habit of expression, without which knowledge is of little use. This is necessary in Latin, and more necessary in English; and can only be acquired by a daily imitation of the best and correctest authors.

Now who was the "relative," soon to "go to the University," to whom Johnson gave this advice, "at Lichfield (some time about his marriage)"? We know of only one who fills the bill, and that is Samuel Ford, son of his uncle Samuel, who matriculated from Trinity College, Oxford, on 11 March 1735/6, eight months after Johnson's marriage. We could feel small doubt, from these facts, that Samuel Ford was the relative honoured by Johnson's attention. But the identification can be more than inferred: it can be demonstrated. Samuel Ford, who entered the church to become a most respectable pluralist, was Rector of Brampton Abbots from 1742 until his death in 1793. And Brampton Abbots is less than two miles from Ross,* whence in 1785 "S.P." wrote to the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* enclosing the documents handed him by his friend, the "worthy and respectable clergyman," who, there is now no room to doubt, was the Rev. Samuel Ford.† The curious thing is that "S.P." does not identify the "relative" to whom the advice was given with the "clergyman" who had it in his possession.‡

* In 1772 Samuel Ford was actually described in a cousin's will as "of Ross" (*ante*, III., 46).

† For full particulars of the Rev. Samuel Ford, see *ante*, III., 44-7.

‡ I communicated this identification to *The Times Literary Supplement* for 18 Sept. 1924, p. 577.

At a previous reference I remarked on the strange lack of any evidence of intercourse between the two cousins, both University men.* This discovery does something, though it is not much, to connect them. Probably the advice was given to Samuel Ford late in 1736, when he was in the final stages of preparing himself for the University, and just about leaving Sutton Coldfield Grammar School, where he was educated under Paul Lowe.

Why Johnson also sent to his cousin the "Scheme for the Classes of a Grammar School" is rather hard to imagine, as a young student would not require to approach the subject from the angle of a schoolmaster. We can scarcely explain it by supposing that Samuel Ford took up schoolmastering himself, for the "Scheme" is said to have been "drawn about the same period" as the personal advice, whereas Samuel Ford, after two years at Oxford, went on to Emmanuel, Cambridge, in 1738, and did not take his degree until early in 1741.

Hawkins prints, from an original before him, another version of "what I take to have been his method or plan of institution," which he thinks "may serve the purpose of future instructors of youth." Essentially it agrees with the one printed by Boswell, but there are verbal differences,† and the two are clearly distinct.

* See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, III., 47.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 37-8.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST VISIT TO LONDON

Johnson and Garrick leave Lichfield together—Gilbert Walmesley still guiding their fortunes; his letters introducing them to the Rev. John Colson—Johnson takes his unfinished play with him—Walmesley's good opinion of Irene—Dr. Swynfen recommends country publication—The journey performed on horseback—Nathaniel Johnson dies immediately after his brother's departure; an unfortunate and unhappy young man—Georgia, the refuge for "down-and-outs"—Garrick's entry at Lincoln's Inn; Uncle David's legacy to his nephew—Captain Garrick dies in Lichfield a week after his son's leaving—The two young visitors to London confronted with financial difficulties—Their shifts to raise money—Johnson dates his arrival after Budgell's suicide—First lodgings in Exeter Street—His landlord, Mr. Norris, and possible connexions with Lichfield—An artist friend's system of frugality—Johnson's mode of life not that of real poverty—Welcomed at the Hon. Henry Hervey's London house—Stays a time at Greenwich to work on Irene—Returns to Lichfield and finishes his play there.

WE now approach one of the red-letter days of Johnson's life, that on which, in company with his sometime pupil, David Garrick, he started that memorable journey to London, in quest of a fame and fortune that had up to then been consistently denied him. Here again we find the hand of Gilbert Walmesley guiding the fortunes of the two young neighbours whose abilities he valued so highly. On 5 February 1736/7 he wrote to his "dear old friend," the Rev. John Colson, at his house in Rochester, asking him to take in and board "a very sensible young fellow, and a good scholar"—to wit, David Garrick—with a view to "instructing him in mathematics, and philosophy, and humane learning," preparatory to study for the Bar.* Colson, who had been at Oxford with Walmesley, was a mathematician of eminence, two years later to become Lucasian Professor at Cambridge, and an *alumnus* of the Grammar School of Lichfield, where his father, nephew to John Strype, the historian, had been Vicar-choral of the Cathedral.† At this time he was Upper Master of the Free

* *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 1831, I., 1-2.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 135.

School at Rochester founded by the famous Sir Joseph Williamson, an appointment that carried a good house, with a salary of £100 a year.*

Though it has not been preserved, Colson's reply was evidently a favourable one. For, less than a month later, Mr. Walmesley wrote to him again, in a letter which has long been historic:—†

Lichfield,

Mar. 2. 1736/7.

DEAR SIR,

I had the Favour of Yours, & am extreemly oblig'd to You: But cannot say, I have a greater Affection for You upon it than I had before, being long since so much endear'd to You, as well by an early Friendship, as by your many excellent & valuable Qualifications. And had I a son of my own it wou'd be my Ambition, instead of sending to the University, to dispose of him as this Young Gentleman is.

He & another Neighbour of mine, one Mr. Johnson, set out this morning for London together: Davy Garrick to be wth You early the next week, & Mr. Johnson to try his Fate wth a Tragedy, & to see to get himself employ'd in some Translation either from the Latin or the French. Johnson is a very good Scholar & Poet, and I have great hopes will turn out a fine Tragedy-writer. If it shou'd any way ly in Your way I doubt not but You wou'd be ready to recommend & assist Your Country man.

If I cannot be so happy as to see Y^u here this Summer‡ I shall depend upon it the next: & your Pupil's coming hither then, will I hope be an Inducement.

I am ever,

Dear Sir

Your most oblig'd &

most Affect hum. Serv.

GILB. WALMESLEY.

To the Rev. Mr. Colson,

At his house in Rochester, Kent.

By way of London.

It is evident, as we have already seen,§ that any idea of Johnson being able to make a success of the school at Edial must have been

* See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and *post*, Appendix D., pp. 150-53. According to Mrs. Piozzi (*Anecdotes*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 49), Johnson meant *Gelidus*, the man whose philosophical speculations caused the atrophy of all his human affections (*Rambler*, No. 24), to represent Colson. But this identification ill accords with Walmesley's warm regard for him, as expressed in his letters; or the references to him by Davies in his *Life of Garrick* (4th ed. 1784, I., 9, 14), which were evidently based on first-hand information, probably from Johnson himself (see *Works of Samuel Johnson*, new ed. 1810, IV., 161).

† See *post*, Appendix D., pp. 150-53.

‡ In his previous letter Walmesley had asked Colson "to spend a month or six weeks with me at Lichfield in the summer."

§ See *ante*, p. 48.



given up some time before this. At the date of the first letter, a month earlier, Garrick had no doubt left. Whether Johnson's tutoring was not considered successful, or whether Garrick was supposed to have acquired a sufficient grounding in Greek and Latin to equip him for his legal studies, we can only surmise. Probably the latter explanation is the correct one, else master and pupil would very likely have fallen out. And it will be noticed that Colson was not to instruct Garrick simply in the classics—all that Johnson professed to teach—but in “mathematics, and philosophy, and humane learning.” It looks as if he was considered to be classicised to the necessary point, and Colson's task was to complete his education in more modern directions.

Johnson's play *Irene*, of which, as we have seen, he wrote a part at Edial,* was probably begun when the school was flickering out, and represented a consciousness of the hard fact that he must find some means other than schoolmastering of earning a living, rather than any true impulse towards a form of dramatic art which, however fashionable at that time among aspirants for literary fame, lay quite without the scope of his genius. Mr. Walmesley, the ever helpful friend of two such famous men, was ready with advice, and when Johnson read to him as much of the play as he had written, encouraged him “to finish the tragedy, and produce it on the stage.” Probably Johnson's decision to go to London with Garrick was suddenly made, on the strength of this advice, else he would have done the natural thing and finished his play beforehand. We may be quite sure that Walmesley, a man of the world before he was a scholar, would not have recommended him to storm the capital with a partially written play, had not the opportunity of accompanying Garrick seemed one not to be missed. We therefore may imagine that Johnson probably began *Irene* some time in 1736, read as much as he had written to Walmesley in February 1736/7, and then, as there was not time enough to finish it, went off to London prematurely on 2 March, so that he could have the advantage of Garrick's company, and Garrick be with an older and steadier companion.

No one forgets the interchange of pleasantries between Mr. Walmesley and Johnson on the occasion of this reading. Concerned by the distresses thrust upon the luckless heroine, the kindly critic

* See *ante*, p. 51, and *post*, p. 69.

enquired how the author could "possibly contrive to plunge her into deeper calamity." And Johnson, evidencing for us quite as much the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court's sense of humour as his own ready wit, replied, "Sir, I can put her into the Spiritual Court!"*

According to William Shaw, Johnson

had been strongly importuned by his godfather Dr. Swynfen, before he left Litchfield, to publish it in the country, with a dedication to Dr. Chandler, who was then Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.† But he was determined to solicit no connection with the great. The church had been the primary object of his education, but from principles of religious delicacy he had uniformly declined the honour thus intended for him by his friends. And this was one consideration which probably weighed against the advice of his godfather in the present case.‡

Johnson and Garrick have been pictured as travelling to London in the stage-coach. But it seems that they went in a much more economical fashion, on horseback.§ Garrick even used to say, with one horse between them—that they "rode and tied."|| The 2nd of March, the day when they started, was a Wednesday, and as Garrick was promised to be at Rochester early the following week they presumably expected to reach London, some 120 miles from Lichfield, at the week-end.

There is one extraordinary circumstance in connexion with Johnson's historic ride to London. This is, that his brother Nathaniel was buried at St. Michael's, Lichfield, by their father's side, on 5 March 1736/7,¶ only three days after Samuel's departure**—that is,

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 101. Nichols (*Literary Anecdotes*, IX., 778) quotes John Disney's version of this story, from his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Arthur Ashley Sykes*, 1785, where Johnson's reply is thus expanded:—"Sir, I have enough in reserve for my purpose; for, in the last act, I intend to put my Heroine into the Ecclesiastical Court of Lichfield, which will fill up the utmost measure of human calamity." I have not seen the original reference, and do not know Disney's authority.

† Edward Chandler [1668?-1750], prebendary of Lichfield from 1697, and Bishop from 1717 to 1730, when he was translated to Durham. Shaw's statement is therefore not strictly accurate. "A man of more learning than capacity" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

‡ *Memoirs of Dr. Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 32-3.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd. ed. 1787, p. 38.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 101.

¶ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 200.

** I first drew attention to this in a preface to vol. I. (p. xxxviii.) of the Temple Bar ed. of *Boswell* (Gabriel Wells, U.S.A., 1922), but Mr. Algernon Gissing noted it independently in *Cornhill Magazine*, Jan. 1923, p. 58.

on the Saturday. What explanation can be offered for this strange conjunction of dates? It is scarcely likely that Samuel, had his brother been seriously ill, would have gone off leaving him alone with their aged and widowed mother. And it is not likely, either, that Nathaniel, a young man of twenty-four, died suddenly, without warning, within two days or less. We can imagine an accident: we can even imagine suicide. Indeed we can imagine suicide the more easily. Who could read that pathetic letter he wrote to his "honoured mother", not long before his death, and feel surprised if it turned out that he took his own life? Let us consider its terms, omitting the parts dealing purely with business:—

I have neither Money nor Credit to buy one Q^r of paper, It is true I did make a Positive Bargain for a Shop at Stourbridge in which I believe I might have lived happily & had I gone when I first desired it none of these Crimes had been committed which have given both you & me so much trouble. I dont know if you ever denied me part of y^e Working Tools but you never told me you would give or lend them me. As to My Brothers assisting me I had but little Reason to expect it when He would scarce ever use me with common civility & to whose Advice was owing y^t unwillingness you shew^d to my going to Stourbridge. If I should ever be able I would make my Stourbridge friends amends for y^e trouble and charge I have put them to. I know not nor do I much care in what Way of life I shall hereafter live, but this I know y^t it shall be an honest one and y^t it cant be more unpleasant yⁿ some part of my Life Past, I believe I shall go to Georgia in about a fortnight, Cottons things I will send. I thank you heartily for your generous forgiveness & your Prayers which pray continue. Have Courage my dear Mother God will bear you through all your troubles If my Brother did design doing any thing for me I am much obliged to him & thank him give my Service to him & my Sister I wish them both well.*

There is, unfortunately, no date on the letter, but as it mentions Samuel's wife—"my Sister"—it must be within the twenty months that elapsed between Samuel's marriage and Nathaniel's death. According to Mrs. Piozzi, Johnson spoke "with pride and pleasure" of Nathaniel's "manly spirit,"

mentioning one circumstance, particular enough, that when the company were one day lamenting the badness of the roads, he enquired where they could be, as he travelled the country more than most people, and had never seen a bad road in his life.†

* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 1.

† *Piozzi's Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 7.

But the letter hardly evidences "manly spirit," and his defence of the roads of his day rather suggests a common kind of "cussedness" than real toughness of fibre. It moreover implies that Nathaniel, who, at the time of writing, seems to have been conducting a branch of the business at Burton-on-Trent, had been detected in some dishonest practice, and had received his mother's "generous forgiveness." He was clearly in a state of deep depression and even despair, not caring much what happened to him, and thinking to escape his troubles by emigrating to Georgia. No one can doubt his affection for his mother, yet even she he thinks has not treated him fairly. His brother he accuses, probably with some justification—for two such brothers would be likely to get on each other's nerves—of almost contemptuous incivility. The truth, perhaps, we shall never know, but who would deny that the writer of such a letter, inheriting and sharing with his brother a tendency to melancholia, might easily yield to a sudden impulse of self-destruction? The sight of his brother going off to London, "to make his fortune," might well have proved the last straw that his jealous and disordered mind could bear.*

If we believe that "one Johnson," of whom the Doctor spoke in 1780 as his "near relative," and who settled as a "stranger" in Frome in 1736, where he was a bookbinder or stationer, only to leave in 1737, was really Nathaniel, there must have been two sides to his character, for the Doctor describes this relative as "a lively noisy man, that loved company." If he were only a cousin, it does not seem likely that Johnson would have made such particular enquiries about him so long afterwards, and from a stranger. Then, the dates are significant, as is also the fact that Johnson was able from memory to state the exact years of the incident forty-three years afterwards.†

Nathaniel's suggestion that he would emigrate to Georgia in about a fortnight is of interest, though it evidently was not acted upon. It was only in 1732 that General Oglethorpe, afterwards the friend of Johnson, had obtained, in association with twenty others, their charter

* But Mr. Gordon Ward points out that burial in consecrated ground negatives the theory of suicide; and that the epitaph Johnson wrote for his grave implies a Christian death ("*vitam brevem pia morte finivit*"—Harwood's *Lichfield*, p. 521).

† See *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 224, where I have assumed the Frome man to be a cousin of the Doctor's.

for the settlement of that Colony.* What had stimulated Nathaniel's mind to make him think of Georgia we cannot tell, but no doubt settlers were being sought for, and, according to Benjamin Franklin, without much discrimination, but among "families of broken shopkeepers, and other insolvent debtors"; and even persons "taken out of the jails" were welcomed.† It was in 1736 that Charles Wesley went out as Oglethorpe's secretary,‡ only to return in 1737, when he was succeeded by George Whitefield, who at the end of 1736 had made up his mind to go there.§

To come back to the two travellers, Thomas Davies thus continues the story, or rather that part of it affecting his actor-hero:—

Almost as soon as Mr. Garrick arrived in London, he was entered of Lincoln's-Inn, March 9, 1736; but his finances would not enable him to put himself under the care of Mr. Colson till the death of his uncle, who, about the year 1737, left Portugal, with an intention to settle in London, in which place he soon after fell sick and died. Some time before his death, his nephew David insinuated to him, that he ought to make him some compensation in his will for the disappointment which he had obliged him to incur by a fruitless voyage to Lisbon. The old gentleman was convinced that the remonstrance was just, and bequeathed to David a larger portion of his effects than to any of his brother's children; for to him he left one thousand pounds, and to the others five hundred pounds each.||

He then tells that "with the interest of the one thousand pounds Mr. Garrick prudently embraced the means of acquiring useful knowledge, by the instruction of Mr. Colson;" and that Captain Garrick returned to England from Gibraltar, "much about the time when his son David lived with Mr. Colson," but, with a shattered constitution, "died very soon after."¶

This account by Davies is all that later biographers of the actor have had to guide them through these obscure early years. And his guidance is not of the best, as his chronology breaks down rather badly under examination. For Garrick's uncle David had died, at Carshalton, ten weeks before the adventure to London, and his will had been proved

* *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under James Edward Oglethorpe [1696-1785].

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 127-8.

‡ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under James Edward Oglethorpe [1696-1785].

§ *Ibid.*, under George Whitefield [1714-70]. And see *ante*, V., 37.

|| *Memoirs of David Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, I., 13-14.

¶ *Ibid.* I., 14-15.

almost immediately, so that the young man left Lichfield secure in the prospect of inheriting his £1,000 legacy when he came of age next year,* on 19 February 1737/8. unless he proved "disobedient to his father and mother" in the meantime.† It is evident that Uncle David had not entire confidence in his nephew, and the suggestion that the latter's visit to him at Lisbon some years before was shortened because "the gay disposition of the young gentleman was not very suitable to the old man's temper,"‡ receives confirmation from this proviso. If the nephew's approach to his uncle in reference to the legacy was as described by Davies, it is remarkable that such effrontery did not win him "the order of the boot."

A further point to be made against Davies is that Captain Peter Garrick did not return to England "much about the time when his son David lived with Mr. Colson," for he made his will in London a fortnight after his brother David's death.§ and eight weeks before his

* We can now see why it was that Garrick's father, with a large family to provide for, thought it necessary to leave him only a shilling in his will.

† DAVID GARRICK, at present of Caushalton. Will dated 16 Dec. 1736. To my sister Laconde, £1100. To my sister Ferinignac, £2200. To my "nephew G: son my name Sake son of my Brother," £1000, to be put out at interest by the exors., jointly with my brother, until he is of age, or to be paid before in case there is a good place that offers in given money. "If should be disobedient to his father and mother before comes of age the money must be given to the father to doe as think most convenient." To my cousin Cazalet, £100, to give her husband what she pleases. To the French Church in Threadneedle Street, London, for the poor French refugees, £100. To Mr. Laconde, my house and wine. To my pall-bearers a gold ring each; my exors. to give the poor what is usual, and also the servants of the house. All my clothes at Mr. Laconde's, to my sister Ferinignac. Resid. legatee, my brother, Capt. Garric. Exors., my friend, Francis Arbouin, and Mr. Lewis Laconde, and give them each £100. Signed, David Garric. No wits. 24 Dec. 1736, appeared personally Joseph Riguil, of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, merchant, and Lewis Julian, of same, merchant, and swear to having been acquainted with David Garric, late of Lisbon, Portugal, but dying at Carshalton, Surrey, on 19 Dec. last, and Lewis Julian says he has acted as bookkeeper to Mr. Peter Flower, of London, merchant, for more than three years, and knows the writing of decd., and both swear to writing of will. Proved 24 Dec. 1736, in P.C.C. (Derby, 268), by the exors. named.

‡ *Memoirs of David Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, I., 6. "The old man" was born 26 Jan. 1688 (Fitzgerald's *Garrick*, new ed. 1899, tabular pedigree), so he would only be about forty when his nephew stayed with him at Lisbon.

§ PETER GARRICK, at present in the city of London. Will dated 1 Jan. 1736/7. To my eldest son, Peter, £500. To my two eldest daus., Magdelaine and Jane, £500 each. To my son William, £400. To my son George, and my dau. Merrial, £300 each. To my son David, 1/-. Sums mentioned to be paid to my children when they come of age. Resid. legatee, my wife Arrabella. Exors., my wife and my bror.-in-law Laconde.

son David set out for London. Moreover, what has not been known to any of the biographers, he died at Lichfield a week after his son's departure.* So that while Johnson's brother died perhaps on the very day of their setting out,† Garrick lost his father only a few days later, a coincidence of tragedy for two young men who had just left their homes full of hope to conquer the world.

We can quite understand now why it was that Garrick's arrangements were disturbed soon after his arrival in London. The news of his father's death, throwing all the family affairs into the usual confusion, would check all his immediate designs, and also make it more difficult for him to get advances out of his uncle's legacy, or the interest thereon, for his father was a trustee in respect of this provision. An incident related by Hawkins, which he "had from a person now [1787] living, who was a witness to it, and of whose veracity the least doubt cannot be entertained," illustrates to what straits he and Johnson were soon reduced:—

They had been but a short time in London before the stock of money that each set out with, was nearly exhausted; and, though they had not, like the prodigal son, "wasted their substance in riotous living," they began, like him, "to be in want." In this extremity, Garrick suggested the thought of obtaining credit from a tradesman, whom he had a slight knowledge of, Mr. Wilcox, a bookseller, in the Strand: to him they applied, and representing themselves to him, as they really were, two young men, friends, and travellers from the same place, and just arrived with a view to settle here, he was so moved with their artless tale, that, on their joint note, he advanced them all that their modesty would permit them to ask, (five pounds), which was, soon after, punctually repaid.‡

Signed, P. Garrick. No wits. 31 Mch. 1737. appeared personally William Morgan, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, co. M'sex, apothecary, and Thomas Goddard, of St. James, Westminster, esq., and swore to writing of decd., late of Litchfield, co. Staffs., Capt. in a Regt. of Foot under command of Hon. Major General Kirk. Proved 7 Apl. 1737. in P.C.C. (Wake, 85), by Arabella Garrick, widow and relict, power reserved to Lewis Leconde when he shall apply for same.

* "Bur. Captⁿ. Peter Garrick Mar. 11. 1736" (Lichfield Cathedral Register). Davies tells us that "there was not much more than the intervention of a year between the death of Mr. Garrick's father and his mother" (*Memoirs of David Garrick*, 4th ed. 1784, I., 15). Here again he errs: the Cathedral register for 28 Sept. 1740 has, "Bur. Mrs. Garrick Relict of Capt. Garrick."

† See *ante*, p. 58.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 43.

With regard to Wilcox, Nichols relates another story that has become familiar:—

Speaking to me in conversation of his own employment on his first arrival in town, Dr. Johnson observed, that he applied, among others, to Mr. Wilcox,* then a Bookseller of some eminence in the Strand; who, after surveying Johnson's robust frame, with a significant look said, "Young man, you had better buy a porter's knot!"†—The great Moralist, far from being offended at the advice which had been given him, added, "Wilcox was one of my best friends."‡

Apart from this incident with Wilcox, there is no evidence that Johnson and Garrick had kept in any close contact after their journey together from Lichfield, and probably their ways soon parted for the time being. So far as Boswell knew, Johnson never "found any protection or encouragement by the means of Mr. Colson,"§ but he may never have sought it. Lucy Porter told him that Mr. Walmsley gave Johnson "a letter of introduction to Lintot|| his bookseller, and that Johnson wrote some things for him," but Boswell could find no trace of such writings.¶

According to Bishop Percy. Johnson "was accustomed to ascertain the era of his removal to London by recollecting that it happened within a day or two of the catastrophe of Eustace Budgell."** But Budgell did not drown himself in the Thames until 4 May 1737,†† so that Percy perhaps fined down the difference in date from "a month or two" to "a day or two."

We can now let Boswell continue his story:—

* He is indexed as Thomas Wilcox, who in 1731 sold Peter Le Neve's MSS. On 26 Aug. 1765 he is alluded to as "old Mr. Wilcox in the Strand," then seemingly dead with a son carrying on (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IX., 427). No doubt the "Thomas Wilcox who was at Virgil's Head, opposite the New Church in the Strand," in 1737 (*Notes and Queries*, vol. 161, July-Dec., 1931, pp. 292, 437).

† According to Murphy, Wilcox asked Johnson, "How do you mean to earn your livelihood in this town?" and it was the reply, "By my literary labours," which prompted Wilcox's brusque remark (*Essay on the Life and Genius of Dr. Johnson*, 1792, pp. 46-7).

‡ Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, VIII., 416.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 102-3.

|| Presumably Henry Lintot [1703-58], son of Barnaby Bernard Lintot [1675-1736].

See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 103.

** Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 307.

†† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

He had a little money when he came to town, and he knew how he could live in the cheapest manner. His first lodgings were at the house of Mr. Norris, a staymaker, in Exeter-street, adjoining Catharine-street, in the Strand. "I dined (said he) very well for eight-pence, with very good company, at the Pine Apple in New-street, just by. Several of them had travelled. They expected to meet every day, but did not know one another's names. It used to cost the rest a shilling, for they drank wine; but I had a cut of meat for six-pence, and bread for a penny, and gave the waiter a penny; so that I was quite well served, nay, better than the rest, for they gave the waiter nothing."*

Hawkins says that Johnson "lodged in an upper room of a house in Exeter-street, behind Exeter 'change, inhabited by one Norris, a stay-maker."† Possibly there was some connexion between Mr. Norris and Lichfield: at least it is curious to find a Richard Norris, staymaker, mentioned twenty years later in the will of Hugh Granger, of Aldermanbury, whose sister, Isabella Granger, had married, about 1715, Richard Bailye, of Lichfield,‡ godson, like Johnson, to Richard Wakefield.§

His Ofellus in the *Art of Living in London*,|| I have heard him relate, was an Irish painter, whom he knew at Birmingham, and who had practised his own precepts of œconomy for several years in the British capital. He assured Johnson, who, I suppose, was then meditating to try his fortune in London, but was apprehensive of the expence, "that thirty pounds a year was enough to enable a

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 103.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 57.

‡ See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, IV., 174, 180, 181. This Richard Norris had in 1757 a wife, Clemeria, formerly Kirk, a cousin of the Grangers, who in 1748 was described as Mrs. Clemmaria Kirk, of St. Paul, Covent Garden, spinster. I am now strongly inclined to believe that he was the man with whom Johnson lodged. Exeter Street was close to Covent Garden, and I find in the registers of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, that "Crimaria Wife of Richard Norris from St. Clements Danes" was buried on 24 Dec. 1759. Going back we find that "Easter Wife of Richard Norris" was buried on 13 Oct. 1743, and, forward, that "Richard Norris" was buried on 29 Mch. 1762 (*Harleian Soc.*, "Register Section," vols. 36, p. 401, and 37, pp. 35, 45). At the first reference I suggested that as Richard Norris did not marry Clemmaria Kirk till after 1748 he probably belonged to a younger generation than Johnson's landlord, but now it looks as if he had an earlier wife, "Easter," who died in 1743, and so was an older man than I thought.

§ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 227-8.

|| "Ofellus was a Roman rustic whom Horace introduces as giving precepts for frugal living. Boswell, therefore, calls this Irish professor of economy Johnson's Ofellus" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 28). "*The Art of living in London, a Poem, in two Cantos*. Griffin. 2s.", is reviewed in *Gent.'s Mag.* for Jan. 1769, p. 45, with strictures on the grammar and composition of the preface. Why Boswell expresses himself so as to suggest that Johnson was the author, I do not know. The reference is to *Hor.*, *Sat.* II., 2, 2.

man to live there without being contemptible. He allowed ten pounds for clothes and linen. He said a man might live in a garret at eighteen-pence a week; few people would inquire where he lodged; and if they did, it was easy to say, "Sir, I am to be found at such a place." By spending three-pence in a coffee-house he might be for some hours every day in very good company; he might dine for six-pence, breakfast on bread and milk for a penny, and do without supper. On *clean-shirt day* he went abroad, and paid visits."*

Johnson always spoke with high regard of this friend, who he said was a man of sound common sense, with much first-hand knowledge of the world; and he did not like people to smile at the recital of his methodical thrift. There was, indeed, not much reason for ridicule, as it is a wise man who faces the problem of a small income squarely, and rules his expenditure so as not to exceed it. And it is absurd to suggest, what is usually suggested,† that the mode of life indicated, either in the case of Johnson or of his economic mentor, represented poverty. It should have been quite possible for a young man starting his career at that time to live decently in rooms on thirty pounds a year. Many sons from refined and well-ordered homes were, at the beginning of this century, doing it on thirty shillings a week, which, allowing for the different period, represented much less in purchasing power, and certainly without any idea of accomplishing an heroic feat. Johnson himself, speaking of Savage's sojourn at Swansea in 1739, says that his London friends "had no sooner banished him to a remote Corner, than they reduced his Allowance to a Salary scarcely equal to the Necessities of Life,"‡ having told us on the previous page "that little more was paid him than the twenty Pounds a Year, which were allowed him by the Gentleman [Pope] who proposed the Subscription."§ Thirty pounds a year he would evidently have considered a decent subsistence for an educated man who husbanded his resources.||

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 104-5.

† Abraham Hayward, for instance, speaks of Johnson's "early familiarity with all the miseries of destitution" (*Autobiography, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi*, 2nd ed. 1861, I., 20).

‡ Johnson's *Life of Richard Savage*, 2nd ed. 1748, p. 153.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

|| According to the "Account of the Proceedings in Parliament" in *Gent.'s Mag.* for 1737 (p. 741), it was stated in the House, in Mch., in a debate on a proposed scheme for raising money by the sale of annuities, that no "Person that has 15*l.* a Year certain, without Labour or Toil, can be reckoned an Object of Compassion, because there are many Places in *England* where a single Person may live comfortably upon such an Income." A correspondent questioned this statement (*ibid.*, 1738, p. 40), and an answer

Even when Boswell wrote, say about 1790, he admitted that sixty pounds would hardly go as far as thirty pounds would have done at the time of Johnson's early days in London,* and the amount would have to be at least doubled again in 1900. The most curious feature of the budget is the disproportionate amount to be spent on clothing; and, indeed, it is not so much the budget of a man making a painful struggle to exist as of a man anxious to appear much better off than he really was, and ready to sacrifice comfort to "swank." The sevenpence which Johnson paid for his dinner should have procured him a substantial one. It must be borne in mind that Johnson was an abstainer at this time.†

Boswell tells us that the "cold obscurity" of Johnson's early days in London was relieved by frequent visits to the town house of the Hon. Henry Hervey, fourth son of the first Earl of Bristol, where he "had an opportunity of meeting genteel company." "Harry Hervey," as he told Boswell when communicating this information to him shortly before his death, "was a vicious man, but very kind to me. If you call a dog HERVEY, I shall love him." Hervey "had been quartered at Lichfield as an officer of the army,"‡ where in March 1730 he married Catherine Aston, the eldest sister of Molly Aston, and of Magdalen Aston, who married Gilbert Walmesley in April 1736. An old Westminster boy, who had left Christ Church, Oxford, while Johnson was still at school, and without a degree, he was at this time still an officer in Kerr's Dragoons: it was not till 1743 that he entered the church. Recklessly improvident, and neglectful of his profession, his own father pronounced him as "fit to live nowhere else" but in gaol. But

was inserted (*ibid.*, 1738, p. 85) explaining that if some burdensome taxes were removed certain London merchants intended to provide a house where gentlewomen "may Board and Lodge for Nothing" in return for a moderate amount of weaving or fancy-work. This, however, is scarcely justification for the statement in Parliament.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 106, where we also learn that Johnson in later life used to amuse himself by estimating the diminished value of the income he once subsisted on. Even as late as 1775 George Dempster wrote to Boswell of Johnson as "a sensible, observing, and reflecting inhabitant of a *convenient* Metropolis, where a man on thirty pounds a year may be better accommodated with all the little wants of life, than a Col or Sir Allan" (*ibid.*, V., 407). Mrs. Piozzi speaks of £800 a year in 1730 being "quite equal" to £1500 in 1802 (Abraham Hayward's *Autobiography, etc.*, of Mrs. Piozzi, 2nd ed. 1861, II., 158).

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 103-4.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 106.

he had wit, was something of a poet, and possessed a social charm that made him very agreeable to women.* No doubt Johnson had met him some years before at Lichfield, where he had offered young Garrick the reversion of his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Aston's commission.† Hervey may have been sadly lacking in the sterner virtues, but it must be accounted to him greatly for righteousness that, moving himself in the very centre of the fashionable and pleasure-seeking world, he yet should have appreciated the solid worth of Johnson, when his origin, his manners, and his dress, were all so much against him.

Exeter Street, where Johnson, as we have seen, had his first lodgings,‡ used to have no west outlet, but ended against the back of old Bedford House.§ Exeter 'Change, which backed against Exeter Street, stood in the Strand, on the site of the present Burleigh Street.|| How long he stayed in these lodgings we do not know, but four months after his arrival in London we find that he had "retired for some time to lodgings at Greenwich," in order that he might have quiet to proceed with his tragedy of *Irene*, of which he had up to then written only three acts.¶ He told Boswell how he used to frequent Greenwich Park, composing as he walked.** On 12 July 1737 he wrote once more to Edward Cave, from "Greenwich, next door to the Golden Hart, Church-street."†† This letter proposes the publication of a fresh translation of Father Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, from the Italian, with the notes which Le Courayer had given to his French

* See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 245-8.

† In the case of Sir Thomas's death—but he lived till 1744. See Fitzgerald's *Garrick*, new ed. 1899, p. 13.

‡ See *ante*, p. 65.

§ *London, Past and Present*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, 1891, II., 28.

|| *Ibid.*, II., 25. "As originally planned, Exeter-street ran behind Exeter-change, from the northern end of Burleigh-street to Katharine-street; Wellington-street being of much later date. The oldest map wherein it assumes its present form is Bowen's, published 30th of August, 1738. The western extension, cut off by the former garden wall of Bedford House, together with the return southwards into the Strand, was then styled Denmark-court" (*The Builder*, 13 Dec. 1884, p. 786, art. "Dr. Johnson's Homes in London").

¶ See *ante*, pp. 51, 57, and *post*, p. 69.

** Others seem to have done the same. In *Gent.'s Mag.*, Apl. 1738, p. 216, among the "poetical essays," is "*A Reflection in GREENWICH PARK, occasion'd by being refused Admittance to MIRA in Town.*"

†† Lieut.-Col. F. Grant, in his *Life of Johnson*, 1887, p. 41, describes the Golden Hart as "an old tavern that has long since disappeared."

translation. It is evident that his previous letter, of 25 November 1734,* had not brought him into real touch with Cave, or, as Boswell points out, secured a personal introduction. But this time he signs himself "Sam. Johnson," and drops the rather sorry pretence of "S. Smith."† No answer of Cave's is recorded, but we shall see later that Johnson's proposal was adopted.‡

While Johnson was at Greenwich he may have had early memories stirred by finding that the Crowleys, the great ironmasters, connected with his mother's family,§ had works there bringing them wealth which made their lot very different from his own, and had already connected them with the peerage. He did not remain there long enough to enable him to finish *Irene*.|| "In the course of the summer he returned to Lichfield, where he had left Mrs. Johnson, and there he at last finished his tragedy, which was not executed with his rapidity of composition upon other occasions, but was slowly and painfully elaborated."¶ It is certainly remarkable that he, ordinarily so fluent and rapid in his literary exercises, should have required so much time to write this short play, and it suggests that in attempting dramatic composition he was moved more by the advice of Walmesley and Garrick than by any natural creative impulse.** According to Hawkins, this first visit to London was little more than a prospecting one, on which he formed no intimacies, unless with Richard Savage,†† of whom I shall treat later.‡‡

It was on his return to Lichfield that his mother asked whether in London he "gave the wall or took it." "In the last age, when my

* See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 104-5.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 106-7.

‡ See *post*, pp. 73, 85.

§ See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 61-2.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 106.

¶ *Ibid.*, I., 107.

** Professor Nichol Smith explains that Johnson had the whole play in mind from the commencement, and that what took him so much time was the labour of perfectly clothing the skeleton:—"There is proof, however, that the conclusion had been planned and partly written while he was still at Edial. The manuscript of his first draft—now in the British Museum—contains in somewhat haphazard order matter that was ultimately worked up into each of the five acts, or incorporated in them without change. All that can be assigned to the spring and summer of 1737 is the completion and revision of the play" (*Samuel Johnson's Irene*, Clarendon Press, 1929, p. 15).

†† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 51-2.

‡‡ See *post*, p. 77.

mother lived in London," he told Boswell, the peaceable and the quarrelsome were thus differentiated. Such a short experience of London provided him with "little to tell his townsmen," according to Boswell; though one would have thought that the duller mind must have received a host of fresh impressions from such a complete change of surroundings—enough to entertain sleepy Lichfield for many a week. We cannot fix exactly the dates of this sojourn in his native city. We have seen that it began "in the summer" of 1737, after 12 July, and Boswell limits its duration to three months.*

Johnson's great-uncle, Henry Ford, the Birmingham attorney, had been a Fellow of Clifford's Inn, and had occupied a room there from 1665 to 1691,† a fact of which his mother would, no doubt,

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 110.

† See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, III., 32-4. It is very curious to me to find that John Robins, M.P. for Stafford 1747-54, who "married" the notorious "Widow of the Wood," as her third "husband," was great-grandson of this Henry Ford, and so second-cousin-once-removed to Johnson. For the "widow's" first husband had been that John Whitby whom Johnson had prepared for the University, at the father's house at Great Haywood, just before his own marriage to Mrs. Porter in 1735. I only discovered this when I saw the account of Robins given by Colonel Wedgwood in his "Staffordshire Parliamentary History" (*William Salt Archæol. Soc.*, 1920 and 1922 vol., p. 259), and pieced the information there given on to what I had printed myself (see *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 130-1, 194, 273; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, I., 6-7, V., 109-13, 258). John Robins, born at Stafford in 1714, was son of William Robins, Mayor of that town in 1719, 1731 and 1740 (died 1744), by Catherine his wife, daughter of William Abnett, Mayor in 1706 and 1720 (Mr. William Robins was mard. to Catherine Abnett at Trysull, on 12 Nov. 1709). This William Abnett had married, in 1681, Elizabeth, only surviving child of Henry Ford. It was to her cousin Catherine, the wife of William Robins, that Mrs. Johnson's rich cousin, Mrs. Harriotts, of the Manor House, Trysull, left her "Diamond Ring with Eleaven Stones in it," in her will of 1726. John Robins was admitted to the Middle Temple on 29 Nov. 1731, and called to the Bar on 10 June 1737, dying *unmard.* on 17 Dec. 1754.

"John Robins, Esq., & Ann Whitbey," were mard. at Castle Church, near Stafford, on 16 June 1752, according to an entry in the register. But a loose slip of paper, in a different hand, pinned into the register just above it, says:—"Elisabeth, d. of Thomas Ward was bur. 1 July. This above was erased to make the false entry of the marriage of John Robins, Esq., and Anne Whitbey, who were married on the 9th October 1752." A burial undoubtedly appears to have been erased, but the marriage entry is in the same hand as the register itself (*Staffs. Par. Reg. Soc.*, "Castle Church," p. 110). I have not myself seen the book giving the story of the "Widow," published by Benjamin Victor in 1755, and cannot pretend to straighten out the story. But we gather from the above that Mrs. Whitby, who had mard. Sir William Wolseley on 23 Sept. 1752, at Colwich, went through another ceremony of marriage with John Robins on 9 Oct. 1752, and in order to make it appear as a genuine marriage had a false ante-dated entry put in the Castle Church register, at the cost of poor Elizabeth Ward's burial entry.

remind him when he went up to London.* In later years, when Johnson lived in Gough Square, he was within a few minutes' walk of Clifford's Inn.

* We have no evidence that Mrs. Johnson ever "lived" in London: we only know of her taking little Samuel there in 1712 (*Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 61-4).

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN TO TOWN, PUBLICATION OF "LONDON," AND
FRIENDSHIP WITH SAVAGE

His wife accompanies him on the return journey—Lucy Porter left behind—New lodgings in Woodstock Street—Fleetwood declines his Irene for Drury Lane—Intimacy with Cave, and association with Gentleman's Magazine—His early work for Cave's journal—London, A Poem: approaches to Cave for its sale—Actually purchased by Dodsley—An immediate success—Pope's generous praise—The problem of Richard Savage; when did he and Johnson first meet?—Was Savage the "Thales" of London?—Hawkins's account of their intimacy; a cryptic statement—Countered by the Rev. John Hussey—The facts of Savage's retirement to Wales—Remarkable parallels with London—Johnson's supposed epigram to Savage—Croker's arguments examined, and a verdict of "not proven" returned—Little really known of Johnson's intimacy with Savage—Their night adventures together probably exaggerated—Mrs. Johnson in lodgings with a friend—Savage an undoubted impostor.

WHEN Johnson returned to London, probably near the end of 1737, he took his wife back with him. Whether she had continued at Edial we do not know.* Lucy Porter, who had lived with her mother and step-father at Edial, "was left with her relations in the country," to use Boswell's not very precise words.† This does not suggest that she began at once to live with old Mrs. Johnson, in the shop at Lichfield, as we know she did in later years;‡ yet, now that Nathaniel was dead,§ the old lady of sixty-eight must have required some one to help her to run what business remained, as Catherine Chambers was probably more occupied with domestic duties.

* Hawkins conjectures that Johnson, "having abandoned the hope of succeeding in his attempt to raise a school, left to her the care of the house, and the management of the small part of her fortune, which, after the fitting up and furnishing the same, together with two years' expenditure, must be supposed to be left; and, that this could be no other than small, may be inferred from her natural temper, which it is said was as little disposed to parsimony as that of her husband" (Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 42-3).

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 110.

‡ *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 241.

§ See *ante*, p. 58.

On reaching London, Johnson and his wife lodged for a time in Woodstock Street, near Hanover Square, and afterwards in No. 6, Castle Street, now Castle Street East, near Cavendish Square. His first anxiety was to dispose of his play, now finished. With Peter Garrick, he went to the Fountain Tavern to read it over, afterwards taking it to Charles Fleetwood, the patentee of Drury Lane, who, however, declined to accept it,* which, everything considered, is not very surprising.

According to Hawkins, "Cave's acquiescence" in Johnson's proposals to furnish a translation of the *History of the Council of Trent*, as set forth in his letter of 12 July 1737,† "drew Johnson into a close intimacy with him."‡ Certain it is that Johnson's fortunes were very much bound up with Cave and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, during these early years in London. He told Boswell "that when he first saw St. John's Gate, the place where that deservedly popular miscellany was originally printed, he 'beheld it with reverence.'"§ Dr. Birkbeck Hill, editorially a little prudish in such matters, evidently found this hard to believe, as "the early numbers contained verses as grossly indecent as they were dull." But this is to interpret Johnson's "reverence" rather too literally, as well as to overlook the fact that indecency has not a constant value from one generation to another.

The first actual contribution made by Johnson to *The Gentleman's Magazine* was a set of Latin verses addressed to Cave, as editor, and

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 111; and *Boswell's Note Book* (ed. R. W. Chapman), 1925, pp. 11-12. Charles Fleetwood was descended from an ancient Lancashire family that had settled in Staffordshire, his great-grandfather, Sir Richard Fleetwood, having been created a baronet in 1611. Only son and heir of Thomas Fleetwood, of Gerards Bromley, by Frances his wife, sister and heir to Charles, 6th Lord Gerard, he is said on coming of age to have inherited an estate worth £6,000 a year, which extravagant habits soon dissipated. In March 1734 he purchased five-sixths of the patent of Drury Lane Play House, and when, after over ten years of bad management, a new patent was granted to James Lacy and David Garrick, in 1746, he retired to the Continent, and died soon afterwards at Châlon-sur-Saône, in Burgundy. He made his will on 20 July 1743, when living in Surrey Street, parish of St. Clement Danes: administration of his estate was granted on 13 Nov. 1747, and the will proved on 22 Apl. 1748, in P.C.C. (Potter, 279). He left his actress wife, Susanna, dau. of Thomas and Grace Williams, of the par. of St. James, Westminster, as his extrix., and she afterwards married Francis Hayman [1708-76], R.A., who was in the Garrick circle (*The Family of Fleetwood of Calwich, co. Stafford*, by R. W. B. [uss], privately printed 1908, p. 5 and tabular pedigree).

† See *ante*, p. 68.

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 45.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 111-112.

entitled "*Ad Urbanum*." This appeared in March 1738 (p. 156), within a few months of his return to town, over the initials "S.J."* According to Boswell, "he was now enlisted by Mr. Cave as a regular coadjutor in his magazine, by which he probably obtained a tolerable livelihood."† His ability to translate French and Italian came in useful;‡ and he was able to assist further by "emendation and improvement of the productions of other contributors."§ "The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" remarks that "Cave did not spare him in any respect":—

His aid was required in almost every department,—to take the place of Mr. Moses Browne and Mr. John Duick|| as poetical referee, to assume the office of judge on the prize verses, to make selections from important new books, such as Du Halde's China, to answer the queries of correspondents, and, above all, to put into shape the imperfect notes of the Debates in Parliament.¶

At this time he was engaged on his first successful literary work, *London, a Poem, in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, his corrected copy of the first edition of which he marked, "Written in 1738."** The manuscript had reached Cave's hands by 6 April 1738.†† There are letters written by Johnson to Cave about *London*, but, unfortunately, they are not dated. The first, written on a Wednesday morning, after he had left Woodstock Street for Castle Street,‡‡ says that he has "the inclosed poem in my hands to dispose of for the benefit of the authour," who, apart from any abilities he may possess, "has likewise

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 113-114.

† "The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, Aug., p. 138) says that "the year 1738 introduced to him a new coadjutor, by whose advice he was materially influenced" (i.e., Johnson).

‡ See *ante*, p. 34.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 115. The Rev. John Hussey, in one of the notes in his copy of *Boswell*, is more precise on this point: "Johnson told me that he was employed by Cave, as *editor* of the *Gentleman's Mag.* from 1738 to 1745—and that he undertook it about the middle of the former year and relinquished it about the middle of the latter" (*inf.* L. F. Powell).

|| Moses Browne [1704-87] is noticed in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* John Duick was Browne's kinsman, and like him a pen-cutter by trade (Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 47; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, V., 51). "— Duick," quill merchant, of Clerkenwell, died 23 Apl. 1764 (*London Mag.*, p. 269).

¶ *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, Sept., p. 273.

** Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 120.

†† *Ibid.*, I., 123.

‡‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 57, says that *London* was written in Johnson's Exeter Street lodging (see *ante*, p. 65), but this does not seem likely.

another claim to your regard, as he lies at present under very disadvantageous circumstances of fortune," and he begs "that you will favour me with a letter to-morrow, that I may know what you can afford to allow him."* The second letter, written on Monday, which gives his address more exactly as "No. 6, Castle-street," thanks Cave "for the present you were so kind as to send by me" (for the un-named author!), and asks definitely "whether you resolve to print the poem." Johnson continues to speak of himself as "the authour's friend."† The third letter was written on or just before 6 April 1738, after the poem had been accepted,‡ and was about to be printed.§ The fourth and last letter of this series, as printed by Boswell, contains some internal indication as to its date in Johnson's anxiety that the printing of "the poem" should be pushed forward, "as the town empties."|| There is something unpleasantly disingenuous about these letters, and quite

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 120-21.

† *Ibid.*, I., 121-2.

‡ Nichols says "this letter must have been written in April 1738, as appears from an accidental memorandum on the back of it [see Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 123], and from the Epigram to Eliza, which was printed in that month's Magazine" (*Literary Anecdotes*, V., 24). *Re the Epigram to Eliza*, see *post*, p. 91.

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 122-3.

|| Professor A. S. Turberville, to whom, as an authority on eighteenth century social life, I applied for a ruling on the significance of this expression, kindly tells me that I shall "be pretty safe in ascribing the undated letter of Johnson to the end of May or beginning of June. Parliament rose, in the year 1738, on May 20. I do not think it likely that there was any marked exodus from London except that which followed the end of the Parliamentary session." He also points out that this year there were very important debates in the Lords and Commons, on 2 and 8 May respectively, on the trade disputes with Spain, which would claim the attention of Members of Parliament at least. Apart from these considerations we should have been inclined to place the letter in April, for it shews that the poem had not yet gone to the press, whereas *London* was actually published in May. And it would seem to follow on closely after the letter that was written not later than 6 April. The question arises whether society people may not to some extent have anticipated the rising of Parliament in a desire to get back to their country homes. Then, as now, there were probably many peers who took their legislative duties lightly.

In this connexion, Mr. Gordon Ward has called my attention to Johnson's own reference to Savage, that he reconciled himself to the non-success of his poem *Of Public Spirit*, published in 1737 (see *post*, p. 92), "by observing that his Poem was unluckily published two Days after the Prorogation of the Parliament, and by consequence at a Time when all those who could be expected to regard it were in the Hurry of preparing for their Departure, or engaged in taking Leave of others upon their Dismission from Public Affairs" (Johnson's *Life of Savage*, 2nd ed. 1748, p. 125). This strongly supports Professor Turberville's interpretation of the reference, however it conflicts with the other evidence.

out of character with the robustly independent Johnson we are proud to know.

The poem was actually purchased by Robert Dodsley, for the sum of ten guineas, Johnson not being willing to accept less than Paul Whitehead had recently received for one.* The printer did not lose much time, and *London* was published in May 1738,† on the same day as Pope's satire, *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight*.‡ "Printed for R. Doddesley, at Tully's Head in Pall-Mall,"§ it bore no author's name, but met with immediate recognition, and literary circles were ready to welcome "an unknown poet, greater even than Pope."|| It is to Pope's credit that he, too, gave it generous praise. Jonathan Richardson, the younger, son of the painter, enquired on behalf of Pope as to the author's identity, and when he succeeded so far as to be able to report that "his name was Johnson, and that he was some obscure man, Pope said, 'he will soon be *déterré*.'"¶ According to Hawkins, Lord Lyttelton carried the poem in rapture to Pope, who "commended it highly, and was very importunate with Dodsley to know the author's name."** General Oglethorpe, also, though as yet unacquainted with Johnson,†† touched him by warm approval of the poem.‡‡ Its fame, however, did not immediately reach the Rev. Nicholas Carter, at Deal, who on 25 June 1738 wrote to his daughter, afterwards the celebrated Elizabeth Carter:—

You mention Johnson; but that is a name with which I am utterly unacquainted. Neither his scholastic, critical, or poetical character ever reached my ears. I a little suspect his judgment, if he is very fond of Martial.§§

It appears that Miss Carter, at this time a young woman of twenty only, had been contributing to *The Gentleman's Magazine* since 1734,

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 124.

† *The Gent.'s Mag.* for May 1738, p. 269, gave extracts from the poem, "remarkable for having got to the Second Edition in the Space of a Week."

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 125-7.

§ Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 7.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 127.

¶ *Ibid.*, I., 128-9. Johnson related this himself, "with high satisfaction," when dining with Boswell on 16 Oct. 1769 (*ibid.*, II., 84-5).

** Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 60.

†† See *ante*, p. 60.

‡‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 127-8.

§§ Montagu Pennington's *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter*, 2nd ed. 1808, I., 39.

and was well acquainted with Cave, who introduced her to Johnson.* "To him I owe that I have known you," wrote Johnson, to her, of Cave, on 14 January 1756.†

Closely connected with this celebrated poem is a problem in Johnson's life that has excited a good deal of discussion, without any acceptable conclusion being reached. When did he first make acquaintance with that erratic though talented man, Richard Savage? Dr. Birkbeck Hill has discussed the question at some length, but left the verdict open.‡ In July 1739 Savage left London for good, to live in Wales, his friends having raised a subscription to provide him with a small income. The puzzle, if we bear in mind the great intimacy in which Johnson and Savage lived for a time in London, is that the "*Thales*" of *London*, which, as we have seen, was written not later than the beginning of April 1738,§ would appear, except for the discrepancy in dates, to be undoubtedly Savage. Thus, the poem opens:—

Tho' grief and fondness in my breast rebel,
When injur'd THALES bids the town farewell,
Yet still my calmer thoughts his choice commend,
I praise the hermit, but regret the friend,
Resolv'd at length, from vice and LONDON far
To breathe in distant fields a purer air,
And, fix'd on Cambria's solitary shore,
Give to St. David one true Briton more.

This tallies remarkably with the circumstances of Savage's departure to Wales. Yet not only was it written full fifteen months before that event, but also Boswell stated he had "been assured,|| that Johnson said he was not so much as acquainted with Savage when he wrote his *London*."¶ Hawkins, however, who of course wrote before Boswell, contradicts him here. After telling us that Johnson's first stay in London, in 1737, was "for little else than to look about him," and did not enable him to form any useful connexions,** he thus proceeds:—

* *Op. cit.*, I., 37-9.

† *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 56.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 125-7.

§ See *ante*, p. 74.

|| By the Rev. John Hussey (*inf.* L. F. Powell).

¶ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 125.

** See *ante*, p. 69.

With one person, however, he commenced an intimacy, the motives to which, at first view, may probably seem harder to be accounted for, than any one particular in his life. This person was Mr. Richard Savage, whose misfortunes, together with his vices, had driven him to St. John's gate, and thereby introduced him to the acquaintance of Johnson,* which, founded on his part in compassion, soon improved into friendship and a mutual communication of sentiments and counsels.†

The only argument to raise against this is that Johnson's letter to Cave, of 12 July 1737, written probably near the end of this visit, does not suggest that he knew Cave personally as yet, or had been presenting himself at St. John's Gate.‡ Hawkins says that

the intimacy between Savage and Johnson continued till the beginning of the year 1738, when the distresses of the former, and the cessation, by the death of Queen Caroline, of a pension, which, for some years, she had directed to be paid him, moved some of his friends to a subscription for his support, in a place so far distant from the metropolis, as to be out of the reach of its temptations; where he might beget new habits, and indulge himself in those exercises of his imagination, which had been the employment of his happiest hours. The place fixed on for his residence was Swansea in Wales; but as it was some time before the subscription could be completed, his retirement thither was retarded.§

So he goes on to assert that in *London* Johnson "anticipated the departure of his friend Thales, i.e., Savage":—||

The event is antedated in the poem of *London*; but in every particular, except the difference of a year, what is there said of the departure of Thales must be understood of Savage, and looked upon as true history.¶

It was this decidedly cryptic statement that led Boswell to make the pronouncement quoted above,** in addition to some sarcastic

* In a footnote to Johnson's letter to Cave of 25 Nov. 1734 (see *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, v., 104-5) Hawkins says that "this letter, and Cave's answer to it, may serve to refute an assertion in an anonymous account of Johnson's life, that he was introduced to the acquaintance of Cave by Savage" (Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 29). But as the letter was written from Birmingham, and purported to be from one "S. Smith," it can scarcely be said to prove that Johnson was not personally introduced by Savage to Cave, who, even had it been signed in Johnson's own name, could scarcely have been expected to remember an obscure provincial correspondent of three or four years ago.

† Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 51-2.

‡ See *ante*, pp. 68-9.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 55-6.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 56.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

** See *ante*, p. 77.

remarks about Johnson not having ever claimed the faculty of second-sight. Perhaps the unnamed authority for the pronouncement was the Rev. John Hussey, "who had long been in habits of intimacy" with Johnson,* and one of whose notes, written in his copy of *Boswell*, runs thus:—

Johnson told me that *London* was written *many years* before he was acquainted with Savage, and that it was even *published before* he knew him—of which I informed Mr. Boswell, who did not think proper to believe me.—Johnson also said that by Thales he did not mean any particular person.†

Boswell's incredulity evidently evaporated after more mature reflection. Birkbeck Hill, at any rate before he knew of Mr. Hussey's note, was inclined to question Boswell's statement, made on someone else's authority, and to give credence to Hawkins. We learn from Johnson's own life of Savage that the pension which he had been receiving from Queen Caroline, on condition of his writing an ode every year celebrating her birthday, ceased on her death in November 1737, but that for the next anniversary of her birthday, on 1 March 1738, he composed an elegy on her, evidently hoping that it would encourage the authorities to renew the pension. But it did not have that effect. Dr. Birkbeck Hill assumes that the scheme put forward by his friends for his retirement to Wales must have followed on after the failure of his elegy for 1 March 1738, and is at some pains to demonstrate the possibility, if the elegy had been lodged at Court not later than 1 March,‡ of events having developed so rapidly after that date that five weeks later—at the very most—Johnson was able to incorporate the fact of Savage's retirement to Wales, though only projected as yet, in his *London*. This is rather straining probabilities, and perhaps, for this line of argument, it is not necessary absolutely to compress the events within such a narrow space of time. It seems possible, as Johnson's account of his friend, which is singularly barren

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 369.

† *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 372.

‡ *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 1738 (which would appear in Mch.: see *post*, p. 81) included among items which "Came too late for this Magazine" (p. 96), "The Volunteer Laureat, No. 7, on the Death of the Queen, address'd to his Majesty. By Richard Savage, Esq;," which "will be printed singly, pr. 6d.". Next month the "Register of Books in March, 1738" (p. 168), includes "The Volunteer Laureat, No. 7. By Richard Savage, Esq; Price 6d."

of dates, can hardly be taken as strictly consecutive in all its details, that the Welsh plan may have taken shape pretty soon after Queen Caroline's death.* At any rate, this seems to provide the only reasonable explanation of the references in *London*, if we wish to believe that 'Thales' was Savage.† To accept it allows more time for the development of the friendship. As Savage, "with tears in his eyes," took his last farewell of Johnson in July 1739, we should, if Boswell were correct, be compelled to limit their personal acquaintance to a period of, at the most, fifteen months. Hawkins, by the way, says that their parting took place while Johnson lodged at Greenwich,‡ but, so far as we know, he lodged there only in July 1737.§ Hawkins was here probably just following the poem, which pictures the last farewell "on Thames's banks, Where Greenwich smiles upon the silver flood."

"The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" quotes these lines from *London*, put into the mouth of 'Thales':—

But what, my friend, what hope remains for me,
Who start at theft, and blush at perjury?
Who scarce forbear, though Britain's court he sing,
To pluck a titled poet's borrowed wing;

and remarks that "the allusion in the second of these couplets to

* He does, however, tell us (p. 138) that, at the time of the Queen's death, Savage was being "supported by a Friend," so did not worry much about the loss of the pension until (p. 142) this friend, "removing his Family to another Place, took Occasion to dismiss him." This event is given as happening after the 'Elegy' had been sent to Court; and if the chronology is correct we must allow even less time than did Birkbeck Hill for the development of events. Writing to Dr. Birch, on 1 Sept. 1738, Savage said:—"I take this opportunity of letting you know that I am struck out (and am the only person struck out) of the late Queen's List of Pensions" (*Johnson's Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Peter Cunningham, 1854, II., 420). This might seem to suggest that the event had only recently happened; but such references are often very deceptive, Johnson's own letters affording several striking instances of apparently current references to events perhaps a year old. 'Sylvanus Urban,' in his 'Autobiography,' expressed the opinion that Savage "had been introduced to Johnson before the latter found his way to Clerkenwell [*i.e.*, St. John's Gate], and that they were already intimate associates during Johnson's first sojourn in London in the year 1737"; and, in reference to his departure to Wales, that "his intention of leaving was talked of long before it was executed" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, Sept., p. 275).

† See Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 125-7; Johnson's *Life of Richard Savage*, 2nd ed. 1748, p. 137 *et seq.*

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 86.

§ See *ante*, p. 68.

plucking the wing of the 'titled poet,' or Laureate, who sang the court of Britain, is applicable to no one with the like meaning, or with much meaning at all, but to the author of the *Volunteer Laureate*."*

Boswell rather discounts the value of his assertion by allowing the attribution to Johnson† of the following epigram in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1738 (p. 210):—

AD RICARDUM SAVAGE, ARM. HUMANI GENERIS AMATOREM.
*Humani studium generis cui pectore fervet,
 O! colat humanum Te foveatq; genus!*

Croker was "reluctant to believe that Johnson wrote this sad stuff," and also asserts with undue positiveness that it "was certainly written shortly before Johnson became personally acquainted with Savage."‡ However feeble and contemptible it may be as an epigram, it has generally been accepted as Johnson's composition, and that accomplished bibliographer, Mr. W. P. Courtney, does not question it.§ Knowing the lapses of the great, it is never safe for us to refute the authorship of any piece by a mere demonstration of its poor quality. Barring fresh external evidence, Boswell's attribution must stand. It must be admitted that it is strong corroboration of the theory of Savage having been personally known to Johnson when *London* was written, as the epigram, to appear in the April number (in May), was probably much of a date with *London*, which was in the printer's hands on 6 April 1738 and published in May.|| A correspondent of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, over ninety years ago, discussed the whole question in considerable detail, controverting Croker, and arriving at the conclusion that 'Thales' was Savage. He thinks that Johnson's Latin epigram was intended to prepare the literary world for the references to Savage and his circumstances in his coming satire; and

* *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, Sept., pp. 275-6.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 162. Boswell says the lines "I am assured were written by Johnson;" but not who assured him.

‡ Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 49.

§ Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 5.

|| See *ante*, pp. 74, 76. A footnote in *The Works of Samuel Johnson*, new ed. 1810, I., 195, argues that as he wrote the lines to Savage "in April 1738, about a month before *London* was published, this surely implies previous acquaintance with Savage." The writer did not realise that the April number contained news up to the end of that month, and so, like *London*, was a May publication. See also Percy's note on the subject, Robert Anderson's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, pp. 70-1.

attributes the immediate success of this satire,* by an unknown writer, to the ground having been prepared partly in this way and partly by judicious encouragement of curiosity on the subject among the denizens of Grub Street.†

Croker also attacks the idea that 'Thales' stood for Savage from another angle, and thinks it a "decisive fact, that if *Thales* had been Savage, Johnson could never have admitted into his poem two lines that point so forcibly at the drunken fray, in which Savage stabbed a Mr. Sinclair,‡ for which he was convicted of *murder*":—

"Some frolick *drunkard*, reeling from a feast,
Provokes a broil, and stabs you in [*sc. for*] a jest."§

In short, there was too close a correspondence between the poem and the facts of Savage's life for it to refer to him! Croker's argument, in any case, has little force, for the lines in question "are almost a translation of Juvenal's,"|| or, at least, are suggested by the original and follow it fairly closely.¶

Though Johnson's poem, judged for length by its 263 lines, is not so very much shorter than its Latin original of 322 lines, yet a large portion of the content of the original is omitted, as Mr. Gordon Ward points out to me. Not only were the lines he deliberately selected for adaptation those which seem most applicable to the life and circumstances of Savage, but, generally speaking, the portions he ignored in his imitation were those that equally seem inapplicable. It may, however, be argued that Johnson's process of selection was mostly dictated by his general re-dressing of the poet's theme, and would have been just as necessary in dealing with the case of any other poor author in London. Speculation can range indefinitely around such problems; and in this case we may even postulate that Johnson actually referred to Savage, but that the facts presented in the poem, being

* See *ante*, p. 76.

† *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1840, Dec., pp. 612-15.

‡ "On 20 Nov. 1727, he killed a gentleman named James Sinclair in a tavern brawl" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

§ Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 35.

|| Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 74.

¶ "Ebrius, ac petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit,
Dat pœnas, noctem patitur lugentis amicū
Peleidæ"

common knowledge to all Grub Street, did not necessarily evidence personal acquaintanceship.

Fitzgerald says that "Thales unquestionably stands for Savage," and thinks that the various allusions that can be matched with his life "irresistibly support this conclusion," dismissing Boswell's objections as trivial.* But Fitzgerald spoke without knowledge of Hussey's positive statement on the subject,† which cannot be dismissed so lightly, and compels a verdict of "not proven," until the balance of evidence is less even.

In spite of Johnson's close association with Savage, and his having become his biographer, we really know very little of their intimacy. Boswell tells us

that Johnson and Savage were sometimes in such extreme indigence, that they could not pay for a lodging; so that they have wandered together whole nights in the streets. . . . He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that one night in particular, when Savage and he walked round St. James's-square for want of a lodging, they were not at all depressed by their situation; but in high spirits and brimful of patriotism, traversed the square for several hours, inveighed against the minister, and 'resolved they would *stand by their country*.'‡

Hawkins also says that

Johnson has told me, that whole nights have been spent by him and Savage in conversations of this kind,§ not under the hospitable roof of a tavern, where warmth might have invigorated their spirits, and wine dispelled their care; but in a perambulation round the squares of Westminster, St. James's in particular, when all the money they could both raise was less than sufficient to purchase for them the shelter and sordid comforts of a night cellar.||

We may ask, if Johnson was wandering about unable to procure even a night's lodging, what happened to his wife, a middle-aged woman who had probably always lived a sheltered life, and never

* Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 74. Fitzgerald says that "Savage and Johnson both resided at Greenwich."

† See *ante*, p. 79. It might be argued, in discredit of Hussey, that as he definitely erred in his statement that *London* was written "*many years*" before Johnson knew Savage (it was written in 1738—see *ante*, p. 74—and Johnson parted with Savage in July 1739), the rest of his story is not to be accepted. But evidence is not invalidated by mere quantitative errors.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 163-4.

§ Relative to the wrong distribution of wealth, "and a mutual condolence of their fortunes."

|| Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 53.

faced privation? Hawkins supplies us with an explanation when he tells us of

the incident of a temporary separation of Johnson from his wife, which soon took place, and that, while he was in a lodging in Fleet-street, she was harboured by a friend near the Tower. It is true that this separation continued but a short time, and that if indeed his affection, at that instant, was alienated from her, it soon returned;*

Hawkins suggests that Savage's society would have no "tendency to improve him in the exercise of the domestic virtues," and that the separation was probably caused by Johnson's temporary declension in this respect. We must take these tales of all-night wanderings with due reserve, making allowance for the human inclination to exaggerate such incidents, especially in retrospect; but if Johnson was really ever unable to afford a bed, it must have been when he was separated from his wife and having to contribute to her maintenance.

Johnson, his natural scepticism succumbing to his humanity, accepted Savage's own account of his origin without question, as did many other men of his time; but after an interval of two centuries we can consider it with an impartiality that does not tell in Savage's favour. No one who is not prepared to examine all the evidence even more critically and minutely than did Mr. W. Moy Thomas over seventy years ago, and to make more extensive researches than he did, is entitled to dispute his considered judgment, that "Richard Savage was an impostor."† Indeed, without weighing the evidence, we can see in him the perfect embodiment of the professional "claimant," who supplies truculence and studied insult where a few simple proofs would have made such outbursts quite unnecessary. His own story, by its very vagueness where accurate details were essential, carries its own refutation, and should deceive no one.

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 89.

† See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, VI. (1858), 361-5, 385-9, 425-8, and 445-8. See also H. B. Wheatley's summing-up of Mr. Thomas's arguments in his ed. of Cunningham's *London*, II., 75-6.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLY JOURNALISTIC WRITING

Translates Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent—Payments by Cave for the work—Publication abandoned: a namesake in the field—His trivial "Verses to Lady Firebrace"—Delay in giving his award for the best poems on "The Divine Attributes"—Edits the "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia"—Cave's issue of a translation of du Halde's Description of China—Crousaz's Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man: translation by Elizabeth Carter—The "impransus" letter; a doubt thrown upon the commonly accepted interpretation—His finances closely considered; no justification for poverty at that time—If in want, condemned out of his own mouth—Unlikelihood of his begging from Cave—MacBean's Military Dictionary—Further contributions to Gentleman's Magazine—Marmor Norfolciense, his anonymous satire against the House of Hanover—Alleged danger of arrest therefor—His ironical Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage, for suppressing Brooke's Gustavus Vasa—William King's Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem.

WE have already seen how Johnson, in a letter to Cave of 12 July 1737, had proposed a translation of Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*.^{*} Though Cave seems to have given his approval to the scheme,[†] Johnson did not actually begin the work of translation until 2 August 1738. He continued it until 21 April 1739, being paid by Cave from time to time sums of one to four guineas, totalling for the whole period £49.7.0, of which he kept an exact account, even to a sum of 2^s/6 "laid down" by Cave on 9 September. In the *Weekly Miscellany* of 21 October 1738 there appeared a detailed advertisement of the projected work, which attaches the translator to "No. 6, in Castle-street, by Cavendish-square."[‡] Hawkins tells us that he was encouraged in the undertaking by Mr. Walmesley, Mr. Caslon, the letter founder,[§] Dr. Birch^{||} and others.[¶] The abandonment of the scheme was due to an extraordinary coincidence. Another Samuel Johnson, the Curate of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and Librarian of Dr. Tenison's

^{*} See *ante*, p. 68.

[†] See *ante*, p. 73.

[‡] Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I, 135-6.

[§] William Caslon [1692-1766], the elder, type founder (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

^{||} Thomas Birch [1705-66], D.D., assisted Cave with *Gent.'s Mag.* (*ibid.*).

[¶] Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 64.

Library there,* was engaged on the very same undertaking, under the patronage of Zachary Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Rochester,† and others of the clergy. The rival translators had some skirmishes in the newspapers of the day, and the confusion of name and intention eventually led to both abandoning the project,‡ the real reason, no doubt, being that neither could obtain sufficient subscribers while a rival, indistinguishable by name, was in the field. According to Hawkins, twelve quarto sheets of Johnson's translation were printed off§ —out of a projected two hundred||—but Nichols reduces the figure to six.¶

A letter of Johnson's to Cave, with no more explicit date than "Wednesday," makes the following allusion to Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*;—

As to Father Paul, I have not yet been just to my proposal, but have met with impediments, which, I hope, are now at an end; and if you find the progress hereafter not such as you have a right to expect, you can easily stimulate a negligent translator.**

This letter must have been written about 2 August 1738, when, as we have seen, he began his translation.†† Another reference in it supports this date:—

* Thomas Tenison [1636-1715], afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1695 erected a Library for his parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in Castle Street, Leicester Square, but it was sold in 1861 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Johnson mentions him in his life of Sir Thomas Browne, prefixed to the 1756 edition of *Christian Morals*. There was no Samuel Johnson at Oxford who could have been this Curate of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*), and only one at Cambridge, Samuel Johnson "of Huntingdonshire," who was admitted a sizar at Emmanuel on 30 March 1722, but is not further identified (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

† Zachary Pearce [1690-1774] was then Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He afterwards supplied our Johnson with twenty etymologies for the *Dictionary* (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 292, III., 112); and in 1777 Johnson made "a grateful return" by writing a Dedication for the Bishop's posthumous works (*ibid.*, III., 112-113).

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 64-5; Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 135.

§ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 65.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 135.

¶ "There were only six sheets printed off; and of these the greater part of the impression was converted into waste paper. A few copies were intended to have been reserved; but they were so carefully put by, as to be lost in the mass of Mr. Cave's papers deposited in St. John's Gate" (*Literary Anecdotes*, V., 29).

** Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 136.

†† See *ante*, p. 85.

The verses to Lady Firebrace may be had when you please, for you know that such a subject neither deserves much thought, nor requires it.

These verses, "To Lady Firebrace, at Bury Assizes," appeared in the magazine for September, and no explanation can be offered for their poor quality, or for Johnson's writing them at all.* Though the magazine would not be issued till October,† the printer must have had his copy some time before.

The letter also expresses Johnson's disinclination to give his award in the case of the prizes, amounting to £40, which Cave had offered for the best poems on the "Divine Attributes":—‡

* *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738, p. 486. See *post*, Appendix E., p. 154.

† See *ante*, p. 81.

‡ As far back as Dec. 1735 (p. 726) it was announced in *Gent.'s Mag.* that a prize of forty pounds would be given for next year's poetry competition; and in Feb. 1736 (p. 58) there was a brief note that "at the Desire of Several Candidates" the amount would be "divided into three Prizes, viz. Twenty, Twelve, and Eight Pounds. The Chief Subject is to be the *Divine Attributes*." In March 1736 (p. 170) were formally offered sums of £20, £12, and £8, for the three best poems on the *Divine Attributes*, to be sent in before 1 Nov. next. In July (p. 408) were further offered "A Set of Magazines for six Years, large Paper, handsomely bound for the fourth Prize, and a Set of smaller for the Fifth." In Sept. (p. 545) appeared a note:—"We have received three Copies of a Philosophical Poem on the DIVINE ATTRIBUTES; also Poems on the same Subject, from W.C. W.N. and Cassio, three Copies each." A note in the 'Supplement' for the same year (p. 784) announces the prizes "still under Consideration," and a decision hoped for in Jan. or Feb. In Apl. 1737 (p. 241) was printed the first part of "A Poem on the Divine Attributes" (called No. I in index); it was concluded in May (p. 305), and in June (p. 370) appeared another effort, "No. II." No further reference to the subject occurs until this in Apl. 1738 (p. 222):—"We expect every Post, that the Gold Medal, proposed as a Prize for the Poems on the CHRISTIAN HERO, will be adjusted. And as there is some Prospect, that the Gentlemen, who are to judge and allot the FORTY POUNDS, proposed in Prizes for the Poems sent in on the DIVINE ATTRIBUTES, will now have leisure to consider 'em; we hope it will not be long before those Prizes will be settled, tho' there are many Poems to peruse, and one of them equivalent with the Notes to 3000 Lines." Next month (May, p. 266) is printed "Number III." of the poems sent in, and a note (p. 272) hoping that poetical and other correspondents who may feel neglected "will have patience till we have inserted the Poems on the DIVINE ATTRIBUTES." Next month again (June, p. 313), "Number IV" appears. Not until Apl. 1739 (p. 166) was this 'Advertisement' inserted:—"The Poems on the DIVINE ATTRIBUTES sent in, pursuant to our Proposals for allotting 40*l.* in Prizes, being reduced to Five, Four of them have been inserted, and by Reason of the Difficulty of procuring a Decision from proper Judges, for fear of injuring any of the Candidates, after much time lost, it was left to them to vote among themselves, excepting their own Poems. The Result is that No. IV. and No. III. have equal votes for the First Prize, and are entitled to the 20*l.* and 12*l.*, No. II. to the 8*l.*, No. I. to a set of *Magazines*, Royal Paper. And a Poem in Manuscript of 2000 lines sign'd *Philo Paulus*, to a set of *Magazines*, small Paper. The Gentlemen concern'd may come or send their Representatives with

As to the Prize Verses, a backwardness to determine their degrees of merit is not peculiar to me. You may, if you please, still have what I can say; but I shall engage with little spirit in an affair, which I shall *hardly* end to my own satisfaction, and *certainly* not to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.*

This easy explanation may have been quite satisfying to Johnson himself, but would be poor consolation to the distracted Cave, who seems to have shewn admirable forbearance towards Johnson and other adjudicators who served him equally badly.

There is also an allusion in this letter to his having "made fewer alterations than usual in the Debates." These were the "Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia," under which title, from June 1738 onwards, Cave cloaked reports of Parliamentary Proceedings, straightforward reporting having been discountenanced by resolution of the House. At this time Johnson merely "edited" reports made by William Guthrie; it was not till 19 November 1740 that he began to write them himself, mostly from imagination.†

One paragraph of the letter provides us with a small puzzle:—

The Chinese Stories may be had folded down when you please to send, in which I do not recollect that you desired any alterations to be made.

What is the precise meaning, in this connexion, of "folded down"? Johnson is referring to du Halde's *Description of China*, a translation of which was then being issued by Cave in fortnightly and monthly parts, alternatively.‡ One suggestion is that Johnson was selecting

proper instructions to receive the Prizes on the 26th of May at the Coffee-House at St. John's Gate at 2 in the Afternoon." The month before (p. 156) was given "Extract of a Poem on the DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. Written by a Young LADY," whose poem was evidently not placed. Whether all the delay was due to Johnson's disinclination to judge the poems, we cannot be sure, but that is the only cause that appears.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 136.

† *Ibid.*, I., 115-18, 501-12; Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 97-9; Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, pp. 5-6.

‡ Here, as in the tale of the prize competition for the poems on the Divine Attributes, we have another long record of indecision and delay. In Sept. 1735 there had appeared in *The Gent.'s Mag.* (p. 563) a full column advertisement "*Concerning the curious DESCRIPTION of China, Chinese Tartary, Korea, and Tibet or Butan; lately published at Paris by P. du Halde, Jesuit. In Four Volumes, Folio,*" of which Edward Cave proposed to issue a version "in the English Tongue," if "a considerable Number of Subscribers more than have yet promised" would "signify their Commands for Beginning the Work." A guinea subscription was to be paid, "to be returned if sufficient Encouragement does not offer by the first of January next." Eight sheets were to be published

extracts from du Halde for publication in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and that he was 'folding down' the pages to mark them. But no extracts seem to have appeared at this time: following the extracts already noted in 1737* I find no further selection from du Halde until October 1739 (p. 537). So a more satisfactory explanation must be found for the expression. There is, by the way, no suggestion of Johnson having made the translation of du Halde's work himself, for in 1780 he related a humorous story of "Green and Guthrie, an Irishman and a Scotchman," who undertook its translation,† while the "Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" refers to it as "a translation by Guthrie and Green."‡

Another letter of Johnson's to Cave, printed immediately after the one just dealt with, bears no date,§ but is dated by Croker "Sept.

once a fortnight at 1s/-, the total price not to exceed three guineas. A year later, in Aug. 1736 (p. 470), a correspondent announces himself "impatient for your Translation of *P. du Halde's China*," and anticipates by translating some passages himself. No doubt this correspondent was "inspired." A footnote explains that "There is not yet Encouragement sufficient to begin the Work on the Scheme of the Proposals publish'd"; that 1,000 subscribers are required; that the work has been at a stand but enquiries have set it in motion again, and that "In a few Weeks therefore Part of the Work will be printed and sent to the Subscribers," who are asked to procure further subscriptions from their friends, so "that a Judgment may be made how many Books it will be proper to print." Next month (Sept., p. 556) the entire translation is announced as "Ready for the Press," the four volumes, "reduced to 2 in English," to be delivered either in monthly numbers, 20 sheets at 2s/6, or every fortnight, 8 sheets at 1s/-. Next month (Oct., p. 624) it is advertised again. In March and Sept. 1737 (pp. 149, 563) appear some more translated passages. In Nov. 1737 (p. 703) subscribers are asked to excuse omission of a publication this month, "as it will scarce happen so again." In July 1738 (p. 384) subscribers are acquainted that the sheets for the 1st vol. have all been printed off some weeks, except the Preface, "now almost done," and that the 2nd vol. is advancing in the press. Two months later, in Sept. (p. 496), there is a note that the publication of the *Description of China*, "which has been neglected some time, will be re-assumed the first Week in October, and continu'd without further Interruption, till finish'd." In Nov. following (p. 608) the 1st vol. is announced as "Just published"; also Nos. 1 and 2 of 2nd vol. Next month (Dec., 1739, p. 664), Nos. 3 and 4 of vol. 2 are also out. Not until May 1742 (p. 280), nearly seven years after its first projection, was the completed work announced as issued, "price bound 3 Guineas," against ten pounds, the price of the French edition. Jean Baptiste du Halde [1674-1743], the French Jesuit, published his *Description de la Chine* in 1735 (Haydn's *Index of Biography*, 1870).

* See footnote above.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 30.

‡ See *post*, p. 92, and William Guthrie's life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 137.

1738.”* After alluding to Cave’s opinion “that the Commentary cannot be prosecuted with any appearance of success,” and agreeing with it, he continues:—

And I think the Examen should be pushed forward with the utmost expedition. Thus, “This day, etc., An Examen of Mr. Pope’s Essay, &c., containing a succinct Account of the Philosophy of Mr. Leibnitz on the System of the Fatalists, with a Confutation of their Opinions, and an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-will;” [with what else you think proper].

It will, above all, be necessary to take notice, that it is a thing distinct from the Commentary.†

The book was issued in November 1738,‡ and it is interesting to find that the advertisement inserted in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for the following month (p. 664) is in close accordance with Johnson’s suggestion, and largely quotes his words:—

This Month was publish’d,

An Examination of Mr. POPE’S Essay on Man: Containing a succinct View of the System of the Fatalists, and a Confutation of their Opinions; with an Illustration of the Doctrine of Free-Will; and an Enquiry what View Mr *Pope* might have in touching upon the *Leibnitizian* Philosophy and Fatalism.

By Mr CROUSAZ

*Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks at
Lausanne, &c.*

Printed for A. Dodd, without Temple-Bar, and sold by the Booksellers.

This translation was attributed by Hawkins to Johnson himself,§ but it was really the work of his friend, Elizabeth Carter.||

* Croker’s *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 39.

† Croker has told us (his *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 39) that the *Commentary*, which Johnson and Cave agreed could not be translated with any prospect of success, was another work by Crousaz on the same subject as the *Examen* translated by Miss Carter. A translation was, however, issued later, by an anonymous hand. In the “Register of Books for November 1741” (*Gent.’s Mag.*, 1741, p. 614), is listed “A COMMENTARY on Mr POPE’S Principles of Morality, or Essay on Man. By Mons. Crousaz, with the Abbe du Resnel’s Translation of the Essay into *French Verse*, and the *English* interlin’d; also Observations on the *French, Italian, and English Poetry*. In 12 mo. price 3s.” Extracts from this work are printed in *Gent.’s Mag.* for 1743, pp. 152, 587-8.

‡ It occurs as the first item in the “Register of Books for November, 1738,” in *Gent.’s Mag.*, Nov., 1738, p. 608:—“AN EXAMINATION of Mr POPE’S Essay on MAN. By Mons. Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematicks at *Lausanne*. Printed for A. Dodd. Price 2s.”

§ Hawkins’s *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 65-7.

|| Birkbeck Hill’s *Boswell*, I., 137-8. From this reference we learn that Dr. Birch read Miss Carter’s translation on 27 Nov. 1738, but perhaps only in MS. Montagu Pennington, in his *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter*, 2nd. ed. 1808, I., 42, says:—“This was finished in 1738, but not published till the following year.”

The letter we are now considering has acquired especial fame, and monetary value, through being signed "Your's, *impransus*, SAM. JOHNSON." That he was 'dinnerless' (or 'unbreakfasted', to translate literally) at the moment we must accept as a fact, while doubting very much if poverty was the cause of such abstention, as Boswell—who takes it as indicating a "state of want"*—and others conclude.† There seems no reason why, with ordinary care, he should have been penniless at this time, when he was doing a fair amount of work for Cave. We have seen that he was assisting Cave to edit his famous *Magazine*,‡ and that from June 1738 he had been correcting the "Debates" each month,§ and had contributed a few trifles of his own composition.|| And, more important, we have seen that on 2 August

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 138.

† Hawkins, for instance, alludes to "his wants, which at one time were so pressing as to induce him in a letter to Cave, hereinbefore inserted, to intimate to him that he wanted a dinner" (*Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 89). Anderson, again, says the word "seems to convey a fair confession, that he wanted a dinner, probably from extreme indigence" (*Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, p. 85). And Arthur Murphy asks:—"If by that Latin word was meant that he had not dined, because he wanted the means, who can read it, even at this hour, without an aching heart?" ("Essay on the Life and Genius of Samuel Johnson," *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 375). Sir Walter Scott, too, in reference to Johnson's recollection of having, when financially secure, sometimes "fasted for two days at a time," remarks that "This was probably the same kind of *unintentional fasting* as that which suggested to him, at an earlier period, the affecting epithet *impransus*" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 362). And see Hayward's *Autobiography, etc., of Mrs. Piozzi*, 2nd ed. 1861, I., 16).

‡ See *ante*, p. 74.

§ See *ante*, p. 88.

|| In addition to his first contribution, the "*Ad Urbanum*" verses (see *ante*, pp. 73-4), in March 1738, and the "*Ad Ricardum Savage*" epigram (see *ante*, p. 81), in April, he had two other items in April, one an epigram in Greek and Latin, on Miss Elizabeth Carter (p. 210), and the other an epigram, "To a Lady [Molly Aston], who spoke in Defence of Liberty" (p. 211). In August he had "English Verses to Eliza" (p. 429) (Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, pp. 5-6).

The anonymous author of "The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban" says (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, Sept., p. 272), of Johnson's contributions to the magazine in 1738, "whilst many have been identified, some perhaps have escaped detection." Among these undetected pieces he includes "a Latin epigram on Venus in Armour" [1738, Apl., p. 214]; "some Latin lines *Ex Cantico Solomonis*" [1738, Apl., p. 215]; and "The Logical Warehouse" ["Occasioned by an Auctioneer's having the Ground-floor of the Oratory in Lincoln's-in-Fields"], 1738, May, p. 271, signed "*Philologus*." He is said also to have supplied "Some Latin lines on Dr. Radcliffe, by Noel Broxholme" ["*In obitum JOANNIS RADCLIVII, M.D.*" (*Authore* Noel Broxholme A.M.)"], 1738, Apl., p. 215—for Noel Broxholme [1689?-1748], see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; and also "some on the death of George Prince of Denmark, by D. Aldrich" ["*In Obitum GEORGH Principis DANIE.*"]

1738 he began to draw money for his translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, at an average rate of over twenty-five shillings a week*—quite enough by itself to keep both him and his wife decently. If he really was in want at this time, we can, indeed, condemn him with words from his own pen, which he applied to Richard Savage, in reference to his poem, *Of Public Spirit, in regard to Public Works*, published in 1737:—†

Thus his Poem contributed nothing to the Alleviation of his Poverty, which was such as very few could have supported with equal Patience, but to which it must likewise be confessed, that few would have been exposed who receive punctually fifty Pounds a Year; a Salary which, though by no means equal to the Demands of Vanity and Luxury, is yet found sufficient to support Families above Want, and was undoubtedly more than the Necessities of Life require.‡

It is, too, against all our conceptions of Johnson to believe that he would so far sink his pride as to *beg* from Cave, which we must do if we interpret the word *impransus* as implying poverty. And it really carries no such implication: it simply states a condition without suggesting a cause. He may merely have wished to impress upon Cave

Authore HENRICO ALDRICH, *S.T.P.*," 1738, May, p. 271—for Henry Aldrich [1647-1710], see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The authority for these attributions is not stated; but as the last two items were not of Johnson's own composition, it must have been something more substantial than internal evidence. The article also asserts that "Johnson's first prose contribution that can now be recognised appeared in the Magazine for July, and bore the signature EUBULUS. It is headed, "*Remarkable Example in a Prince and Subject*," and its contents are extraordinary. Beginning with directing attention to some interesting matters to be found in Du Halde's China, of which Mr. Cave was then printing a translation made by Guthrie and Green, it proceeds to relate an occurrence which had recently occurred at home—when, at the baptism of King George the Third, the Marquess of —, as the Lord of the Bedchamber then in waiting, had successfully asserted his claim to stand as proxy for the Elector of Hesse, the child's maternal grandfather, although the Prince of Wales had at first appointed 'a noble Duke'" [1738, July, pp. 365-6]. None of these items appears in Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915.

* See *ante*, p. 85.

† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

‡ Johnson's *Life of Richard Savage*, 2nd ed. 1748, p. 126. At a later reference he describes (pp. 144-5) the scheme under which Savage was to retire to Wales, on an allowance of £50 a year, "on which he was to live privately in a cheap Place, without aspiring any more to Affluence, or having any farther Care of Reputation." In his letter to Boswell George Dempster speaks of London as a place "where a man on thirty pounds a year may be better accommodated with all the little wants of life than a Col or Sir Allan." And this was in 1775, when money had much depreciated in value (see *ante*, p. 67).

that he had spent a busy day, and had not had time to go out to the tavern at noon for his dinner, or, indeed, merely that it was dinner time and he must be getting along.* If we knew the hour when the letter was written we could better estimate the emphasis attaching to *impransus*.

Another letter of Johnson's, undated but described by Boswell as "the very next" after the one we have just been discussing, shews him in the agreeable light of a struggling writer advancing the claims of one probably still poorer than himself. Alexander MacBean had accumulated "good materials" for a "Military Dictionary,"† and Johnson sought Cave's patronage for him.‡ In a letter of Cave's to Dr. Birch, dated 28 November 1738, Johnson is mentioned as having advised Elizabeth Carter to translate *Boethius*; but nothing came of the suggestion.§

On 21 April 1739 Johnson received what was, apparently, the last payment made to him for the translation of Sarpi.|| To the November issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1738 (pp. 581-3) he had contributed "The Life of Father Paul Sarpi, Author of the History of the Council of Trent; For printing a new Translation of which, by S. Johnson, we have publish'd Proposals"; and to the December issue (p. 654) a Greek Epigram on Dr. Birch. He concluded the year by writing the address "To the Reader" for the bound volume of 1738. In

* Mr. Fitzgerald has anticipated me here:—"Impransus hardly conveys that Johnson was *in want* of a dinner, as Mr. Boswell would imply, but rather that he had not found time to dine" (his *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 83). But I find that Nichols anticipated us all by applying ordinary common sense to the expression as far back as 1812, in criticism of Boswell:—"Might not, however, *impransus* simply mean, *before dinner*, or *I have not dined*? The letter perhaps was written, in a hurry, late in the day" (Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, V., 30).

† Boswell says "this book was published," but Dr. Birkbeck Hill could not find it (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 138). Mr. Percy Fitzgerald says the book is recorded in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* (*Critical Examination of Dr. Birkbeck Hill's 'Johnsonian' Editions*, 1898, p. 14), but I cannot trace it there. Watt lists William MacBean's *The Constitution of Gunnery* [an error for 'Germany'! See *B.M. Cat.*], by way of *Question and Answer*, London, 1743; but credits Alexander with no military work. He also gives *A Military Dictionary; explaining and describing the Technical Terms, Phrases, Works, and Machines used in the Science of War; with an Introduction to Fortification*, but it was published (apparently anonymously) at London in 1778. In the 'Register of Books for October 1743' (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1743, p. 560), however, I do find "A military Dictionary, By J—— W——, Esq; pr. 1s. 6d. Read." This point demands closer enquiry.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 138.

§ *Ibid.*, I., 139.

|| *Ibid.*, I., 135; and *ante*, p. 85.

1739 he contributed "The Life of Dr. Herman Boerhaave," which appeared in the issues for January (pp. 37-8), February (pp. 72-3), March (pp. 114-16), and April (pp. 172-6); as well as a "Letter to Mr. Urban," in January (pp. 3-4), "An Appeal to the Publick," in March (pp. 111-12), and an address "To the Reader" in May (p. 223).^{*} He is not known to have made any further contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739.[†]

In April 1739 was published his *Marmor Norfolciense*, an anonymous satire against the House of Hanover, which, according to Boswell, fell a little flat and "had not a very extensive circulation." Pope, however, read it and pronounced it "very Humorous."[‡] Hawkins avers that warrants were issued by the Government for the arrest of the author of this Jacobite effusion, in consequence of which Johnson and his wife took "an obscure lodging in a house in Lambeth-marsh, and lay there concealed till the scent after him was grown cold." But a search among the records on Boswell's behalf, by one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, disclosed no such warrant.[§]

In May 1739, the month following, Johnson published, again without his name being given ("By an Impartial Hand," the title-page puts it), *A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage, from the Malicious and Scandalous Aspersions of Mr. Brooke, Author of Gustavus Vasa*. This was "Printed for C. Corbett, at Addison's Head, in Fleet-street,"^{||} and Hawkins says that "Johnson was employed by one Corbet, a

^{*} Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, pp. 6., 10, 11.

[†] In *Gent.'s Mag.* for June 1739 (pp. 288-92) was printed "EXTRACT from four Sermons By JOSEPH TRAPP, D.D.," announced as "to be concluded in our next." But no continuation appeared; and in the issue for July 1787 (pp. 555-7) we find "Considerations [by the late Dr. Samuel Johnson] on the Case of Dr. T[rapp]'s Sermons, abridged by Mr. Cave, 1739." Cave had evidently been threatened with prosecution, and Johnson, who, a footnote says, "on all difficult occasions was Cave's oracle," had prepared for him these "Considerations" (numbered 1 to 31), to justify the right of literary abridgment.

[‡] See *post*, p. 98.

[§] Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 141-2; Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 70-72; Courtney and Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, pp. 9-10.

^{||} Charles Corbett was born 16 Feb. 1709/10, at St. Mary's Hill, London, succeeded his father, Thomas Corbett, at Addison's Head, next the Rose Tavern, without Temple Bar, before 17 June 1732, and died 24 Feb. 1752. He was evidently not of such "small note" as Hawkins asserts. See H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers from 1726 to 1775* [Bibliographical Soc., 1932 (for 1930)], pp. 61-2; and *Notes and Queries*, vol. 161, July-Dec. 1931, pp. 80, 171.

bookseller of small note, to take up the cause of " Henry Brooke. The work was ironical, and in reality an attack on the newly appointed Licensers of Plays, who had inaugurated their reign by suppressing Brooke's tragedy.*

In an appendix I have had to consider carefully a statement that "Johnson Lichfeildensis" was the real author of William King's political satire of 1738, *Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem*, but the evidence, though raising many literary and biographical points of interest, does not support the ascription.†

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 140-1; Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 72-8; Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 10.

† See Appendix F., *post*, pp. 157-60.

CHAPTER IX.

THE APPLEBY INCIDENT: LAST ATTEMPT TO BECOME
A SCHOOLMASTER

Lord Gower's letter on behalf of Johnson to a friend of Dean Swift—Could University of Dublin give him a degree?—A Dublin degree, if obtained, would not have qualified him for the mastership—Pope's curious note on his application—The locality of the School, which Pope placed in Shropshire—Percy says Trysull, in Staffordshire, but no vacancy there at the time—Hawkins definitely says Appleby—Boswell's perverse reasoning in favour of Newport—Mr. Henn, a master at Appleby, makes Boswell retract—Hawkins right again—The minute books of Appleby School—Meeting convened for election of new Headmaster—A quorum not obtainable; the Bishop requested to use his power of appointment—Thomas Mould selected for the post; a founder's kinsman—The Rev. Samuel Martin, whose resignation caused the vacancy, afterwards son-in-law to Hunter of Lichfield—Lichfield boys at Appleby School, including George Garrick—Some aristocratic pupils—Johnson's visit in person to the school—Fitzgerald gets help in his argument against Appleby—A biographical list of the School governors; mostly gentlemen resident not far from Lichfield—Sir Thomas Gresley, the governor named by Hawkins, and other possible supporters of Johnson—Thomas Mould's prior claim to the post:—records to shew that his appointment was actually made by the Bishop—Fitzgerald sums up wrongly in favour of Trysull—Lord Gower and his connexion with Sir Wolstan Dixie; a renegade Jacobite to Johnson—Unlikely that Johnson's prejudice against Swift resulted from the Appleby incident: a more probable cause.

THE next record of Johnson is one of special interest, and marks, so far as we know, the last attempt he made to escape from the uncertainties of a purely literary career by gaining a post as a schoolmaster. Boswell, in printing the following letter, says it was addressed to "a friend of Dean Swift," by Earl Gower,* to whom Johnson had been recommended by Pope, who was "without any knowledge of him [Johnson] but from his *London*."

* Lord Gower was not advanced to an Earldom until 1746.

SIR,

Mr. Samuel Johnson (authour of *London*, a satire, and some other poetical pieces) is a native of this country, and much respected by some worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood, who are trustees of a charity school now vacant; the certain salary is sixty pounds a year, of which they are desirous to make him master; but, unfortunately, he is not capable of receiving their bounty, which *would make him happy for life*, by not being a *Master of Arts*; which, by the statutes of this school, the master of it must be.

Now these gentlemen do me the honour to think that I have interest enough in you, to prevail upon you to write to Dean Swift, to persuade the University of Dublin to send a diploma to me, constituting this poor man Master of Arts in their University. They highly extol the man's learning and probity; and will not be persuaded, that the University will make any difficulty of conferring such a favour upon a stranger, if he is recommended by the Dean. They say he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey; and will venture it, if the Dean thinks it necessary; choosing rather to die upon the road, *than be starved to death in translating for booksellers*; which has been his only subsistence for some time past.

I fear there is more difficulty in this affair, than those good-natured gentlemen apprehend; especially as their election cannot be delayed longer than the 11th of next month. If you see this matter in the same light that it appears to me, I hope you will burn this, and pardon me for giving you so much trouble about an impracticable thing; but, if you think there is a probability of obtaining the favour asked, I am sure your humanity, and propensity to relieve merit in distress, will incline you to serve the poor man, without my adding any more to the trouble I have already given you, than assuring you that I am, with great truth, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

GOWER.

Trentham, Aug. 1, 1739.

Boswell points out that, though "it was, perhaps, no small disappointment to Johnson that this respectable application had not the desired effect," the world has reason to rejoice that it was unsuccessful, else "he might probably have wasted in obscurity those hours in which he afterwards produced his incomparable works."* On this reasoning, equal gratitude would be owing to Dr. Adams, who had failed to procure him a degree from his own University of Oxford.† But, as Mr. Algernon Gissing has pointed out, "a Dublin degree would not have qualified Johnson for the post at all, as the statutes of the school in question require that the master appointed must be, not merely a Master of Arts, but a Master of Arts of one of the

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 133-4.

† *Ibid.*, I., 133.

universities of Oxford or Cambridge.”* Mr. Gissing remarks on the curious neglect of Lord Gower to buttress his application by mention of Pope as its instigator.†

Some time after this, Pope sent a copy of *London* to Jonathan Richardson, the painter, with the following curious note:—

This is imitated‡ by one Johnson who put in for a Publick-school in Shropshire, but was disappointed. He has an infirmity of the convulsive kind, that attacks him sometimes, so as to make him a sad Spectacle. Mr. P. from the Merit of this Work which was all the knowledge he had of him§ endeavour’d to serve him without his own application; & wrote to my L^d Gore, but he did not succeed. Mr. Johnson published afterw^{ds} another Poem in Latin with Notes the whole very Humorous call’d the Norfolk Prophecy. P.

This note was given by the painter’s son, Jonathan Richardson the younger, to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who told Johnson of it, though naturally without shewing it to him. Johnson manifested a keen desire to see it, however, and expressed his pride that “such a man as Pope” should have enquired about him. Sir Joshua presented it to Bishop Percy, who showed it to Boswell.||

It will be noticed that Lord Gower does not specify the locality of the school, beyond intimating that Johnson was “a native of this country,” and that the trustees were “worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood.” But Pope says it was “A Publick-school in Shropshire.” And Bishop Percy, writing to Boswell on 5 March 1787, after speaking of Johnson’s schooling at Stourbridge, continues:—

* Or, as the statutes actually defined it, “one of the Universities of the Kingdom of England.” The teaching by the Latin Master was to follow the method used “in the two most reputed chief schools in England, or the schools of Westminster, or St. Paul’s, in London”; or, as the heading to the clause puts it, “Latin Master to teach after Eton, Westminster, or St. Paul’s method.” Mr. Gordon Ward suggests to me that, though Lord Gower’s letter speaks as if a Dublin degree were all that was required, Johnson’s sponsors may have had in mind the possibility of his being incorporated M.A. at Oxford on the strength of the Dublin degree, as was commonly done at that time. Swift himself had thus obtained his Oxford degree. A short period of residence, however, was required (see *ante*, V., 40).

† *Cornhill Magazine*, 1926, Apl., p. 406.

‡ *i.e.*, from *Juvenal*, Sat. 3.

§ Some ten years earlier Pope is said to have bestowed high praise on Johnson’s college translation of his own *Messiah* (*ante*, V., 10), but he scarcely could be expected to remember that, even if he had any means of identifying Johnson the undergraduate of Pembroke with Johnson the author of *London*.

|| Birkbeck Hill’s *Boswell*, I., 142-3. In modern times this note was in the possession of Mr. Samuel Timmins, F.S.A., of Birmingham (F. Grant’s *Johnson*, 1837, p. 46).

Not far from Stourbridge is the Free Grammar School of Tresull, in Staffordshire, of which I believe Pope endeavoured to procure him to be elected master by the interest of Lord Gower, as is mentioned in a billet of Pope's to Richardson the painter, of which you have a copy.*

In a note of some eighteen years later, questioning the identification of the school as that of Appleby, Percy writes a little more fully on the subject:—

At this, and many other places, writers have fixed the free-school of which Johnson solicited to be master; but a gentleman, well acquainted with the neighbourhood of Stourbridge, believes it was at Treasle, a village lying between that town and Wolverhampton, where a grammar-school had been endowed, and is believed to have been then vacant. As this village, although within the borders of Staffordshire, is on the very verge of Shropshire, its situation might naturally be mistaken for the latter by Lord Gower or Mr. Pope.†

Before we proceed any further, we may dismiss the attempted identification of the school with Trysull (Percy spelt the name as it is pronounced).‡ In an appendix I have shewn that, in all probability, there was no vacancy there at this time, and the endowment could not have provided "a certain salary" of sixty pounds a year.§

And now as to the evidence for identifying the school with that of Appleby. Hawkins is quite definite on the point. He tells us that Johnson obtained little practical benefit from the publication of *London*:—

He was therefore disposed to embrace any other prospect of advantage that might offer; for, a short time after, viz. in August 1738, hearing that the mastership of Appleby school in Leicestershire was become vacant, he, by the advice of Sir Thomas Griesly a Derbyshire baronet, and other friends, went to Appleby,

* Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 306.

† Robert Anderson's *Life of Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, p. 77. It is stated in the preface that Percy's notes, of which this is one, were written in an interleaved copy of the 2nd ed., 1805. The actual letter from Percy to Anderson, notifying the dispatch of this annotated volume, was dated 27 Nov. 1805 (Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VII., 158).

‡ "Trysull, or Tresel, and sometimes written Treosle" (Shaw's *Staffordshire*, II., 208).

§ See Appendix G., pp. 161-3. An earlier letter of Percy's, dated 17 Oct. 1786, to Edmond Malone, shews him then less certain on the point: "Only one thing may perhaps deserve his [Boswell's] notice: the school in Staffordshire which Pope applied to Lord Gower for his interest to procure for Johnson I believe was at Treasle near Stourbridge; if it was not at Stourbridge itself, at each of which places I believe there is an endowed school" (*Catalogue of R. B. Adam's Johnsonian Collection*, privately printed, 1921).

and offered himself as a candidate for that employment, but the statutes of the school requiring, that the person chosen should be a Master of Arts, his application was checked.

Hawkins then follows with Lord Gower's letter, which he took from a printed source, and explains that the date given to it, 1 August 1737, must be an error for 1 August 1738, as it was written after the publication of *London*.* But, as we have seen, its date was really 1 August 1739 (a 7 and a 9 are easily confused), and we must alter Hawkins's date for Johnson's application, August 1738, to August 1739.

Boswell, in his first edition, ignored Hawkins's identification of the school and suggested that, as the trustees were gentlemen in Johnson's neighbourhood, Pope, in his note, probably wrote 'Shropshire' in error for 'Staffordshire'. But, being afterwards supplied with some particulars of Newport School,† in Shropshire, which seemed to correspond with the particulars given by Lord Gower, and learning that its revenues were derived from property at Knighton and Adbaston, in *Staffordshire*, he rashly concluded it "probable that this was the school in contemplation; and that Lord Gower erroneously supposed that the gentlemen who possessed the lands, out of which the revenues issued, were trustees of the charity." This seems very perverted reasoning, even to save him from agreeing with Hawkins, and a communication in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1793 (p. 408), from Mr. John Henn, then writing-master, or 'usher,' of Appleby School,‡ forced him to toe the line with his despised predecessor. He quotes Mr. Henn's own words:—

* Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, pp. 61-3.

† See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, III., 154-5, for some particulars of Newport School. As the Rev. Samuel Lea, to whom Johnson had applied for a position as a kind of pupil-teacher there in 1726, retained the Headmastership until his death in 1773, it is clear that Newport School, at least, must be ruled out of our present enquiry.

‡ John Henn had sailed to India in some capacity, with Sir Eyre Coote, on the *Stafford Indiaman*, in May 1778. He "left Bengal (*half alive*)" in December, 1779. Some time after this he succeeded "Mr. Glover" as writing-master of Appleby School, the post carrying a salary of £30 a year. He died 12 July 1794, "of an atrophy, absolutely starved to death." An indefatigable correspondent of *Gent.'s Mag.*, he assisted Nichols, who describes him as "an excellent young man," with local material for his *History of Leicestershire* (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1794, pp. 203, 677; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 442). "Mr. Glover" was John Glover [1767-1849], afterwards the distinguished landscape painter, who was appointed to Appleby in 1786, removed to Lichfield in 1794, and to London in 1805 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

I compared time and circumstance together, in order to discover whether the school in question might not be this of Appleby. Some of the trustees at that period were "worthy gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Lichfield". Appleby itself is not far from the neighbourhood of Lichfield. The salary, the degree requisite, together with the *time of election*, all agreeing with the statutes of Appleby. The election, as said in the letter, "could not be delayed longer than the 11th of the next month," which was the 11th of September, just three months after the annual audit-day of Appleby school, which is always on the 11th of June*; and the statutes enjoin *ne ullius præceptorum electio diutius tribus mensibus moraretur, etc.*

These I thought to be convincing proofs that my conjecture was not ill-founded But what banishes every shadow of doubt is the *Minute-book* of the school, which declares the head-mastership to be *at that time* VACANT.†

Mr. Henn presumably did not know that Hawkins had half-a-dozen years earlier stated the school to have been that of Appleby, but Boswell knew, and should have given credit where credit was due. It is a little surprising that Hawkins's very explicit statement, with its reference by name to one of the local patrons, did not make his rival biographers realise that he must have obtained some direct information on the subject. For there can be no doubt now that he was right. Actual extracts from the school minute-books, kindly sent me by Mr. Algernon Gissing, are convincing:—‡

MEMORANDUM. Governors present 11 June 1739.

S^r John Harpur Baronet, Geo. Moore Esq. William Browne Esq. The Rev^d Mr. Geo. Gell and John Moore Esq.

S^r John Harpur with the consent of the rest of the governors present does appoint Monday the 16th day of July next for the election of a Latin Master in the Room of the Rev^d Mr. Samuel Martin M.A. who has resigned his said Mastership.

Ordered

That Mr. James Gresley English Master give immediate notice thereof in Writing to all the Govern^{rs} of this School.

This minute is signed by the five governors mentioned as present. The next minute is as follows:—

Governors Present July 16 1739.

S^r John Harpur Bar^t, Geo. Moore and William Browne Esquires and the Rev. Mr. Geo. Gell.

* The 'baptismal day' of Sir John Moore, the school's founder. See *post*, p. 103.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 132.

‡ These extracts were afterwards printed by Mr. Gissing in his article entitled "Appleby School: An Extra-illustration to Boswell," in *Cornhill* for Apl. 1926, pp. 404-414.

Whereas Mr. Samuel Martin Latin Master of Appleby School did give Notice to the Governors of the said School on the audit day being June 11th 1738 that he would resign his place of Latin Master that day twelve months which he did accordingly at 11 o'clock the same day being the general audit day and time appointed by the Statutes for the choice of a Master And whereas Mr. Thomas Mould a Founder's near kinsman did then offer himself a candidate for the said school and only five Governors then met so that an election could not at that time be statutablely made And whereas a further day was then agreed upon by the said five Governors The Senior Governor Sir John Harpur Bart. being one of that Number for the making the election namely the 16th day of July following Immediate notice whereof was given to all the above Governors And Whereas no more than four Governors are now met on this 16th day of July (one of the Governors of the Founder's name being ill) and no election can yet be statutablely made Tho' the Business of the school in a great measure stands still and its Reputation suffers much We the said four Governors do desire that our Visitor the Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Lincoln be made acquainted therewith into whose hands in case of Neglect of the choice of a master by the said Gov^{rs} the Nomination of Master by the statutes of the said school devolves And we do humbly beg leave to recommend to his Lordships Favour the above mentioned Mr. Mould as a near Relation of the said Founder whom the statutes of that school give a preference to all other candidates in case he is qualified which we really believe him to be and which we entirely submit to his Lordship's Judgement.*

Ordered.

The above mentioned Governors being Present that Three Pounds be allowed Mr. Gresley The English Master for providing a dinner for this day.†

* A minute of 10 Feb. 1706/7, seeking provision for the appointment of governors and schoolmasters in case the governors failed to elect, concludes, "and we also most humbly desire and request the said Lord Bishop from time to time as any schoolmaster shall depart this life to nominate and make choice of another schoolmaster to succeed in his place, in case the governors for the time being or the major part of them shall not elect or choose another schoolmaster within the space of six months next after the death or expulsion of any such schoolmasters." The original statutes only empowered the Bishop to settle disputes among the governors as to their construction.

† The statutes allowed this sum for the purpose to the Latin Master, or failing him the English Master. The Rev. James Gresley [1715-45], B.A. Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge, 1737/8, was English Master at Appleby School from 1738 till his death; he was first cousin to Sir Thomas Gresley, the Governor (*William Salt Archaeological Society*, "Staffordshire Collections," New Series, vol. I., "The Gresleys of Drakelow," by Falconer Madan, p. 103; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 437, 442). The school minutes record his appointment:—"James Gresley, Batchellor of Arts was elected English Master of the said school (*nemine contradicente*)," on 31 Jan. 1738/9, the Governors present being Sir John Harpur, Bart., Geo. Moore, Esq., Sir Thomas Gresley, Bart., Christopher Horton, Esq., The Rev. Mr. Gell, Theodore William Inge, Esq., and Sir Robert Burdett, Bart. James Gresley entered the Latin School on 6 June 1727, and the Writing School on 7 June 1727.

There was evidently trouble among the Governors (thirteen was their full complement) as to the appointment, which induced some of them to stay away and prevent there being the necessary quorum of seven fixed by the statutes for the election of masters. However, Thomas Mould secured the position, and held it for forty years, until his death in 1779. He had taken his M.A. degree in 1738.* He was evidently "a Founder's near kinsman" through connexion with the Moore family. The School had been built in 1697, to the design of Sir Christopher Wren, by Sir John Moore, a former Lord Mayor of London,† whose brother, George Moore, had an eldest daughter, Sarah, who married Henry Mould; her son became John Moore under the will of his great-uncle, Sir John. Sir John's brother, Charles Moore, married Rebecca, daughter of an earlier Rev. Thomas Mould, Rector of Appleby, and was grandfather to George and John Moore,‡ who, as we shall presently see, were both Governors of the School when Johnson made his application.

The Rev. Samuel Martin, whose resignation caused the vacancy, was he who, in 1741, two years later, married Anne, daughter of Johnson's Lichfield schoolmaster, the Rev. John Hunter, and aunt of Anna Seward.§ He had held office since 1725, and it is interesting to learn from the School register|| that a number of Johnson's Lichfield

* Thomas, son of Joseph Mould, of Appleby, co. Leic., *pleb.*, matric. 1 Apl. 1732, aged 18, from Oriel Coll., Oxford; he took his B.A. from Lincoln Coll. in 1735, and his M.A. in 1738 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). He died May 1779, aged 67 (Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 438). Probably the Thomas Mould who entered the Latin School of Appleby on 20 Jan. 1723/4. He must not be confused with the Rev. Thomas Mould, B.A. Jesus Coll., Cambridge, English Master of Appleby School from 1746 to his death in Oct. 1792, aged 76; he was son of the Rev. Jacob Mould, Rector of Appleby (*Venn's Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1792, p. 963; Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 442).

† See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; and Nicholas Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, 1818, I., 734-41.

‡ Burke's *Landed Gentry*; Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 443; *Visitation of England and Wales*, 'Notes', vol. XII., pp. 83-7.

§ See *ante*, p. 21.

|| My friend Mr. A. W. Read, of Leicester, kindly lent me the transcript he had made of the School register, in which the Latin School, the English School, and the Writing School, each has a separate volume, as ordered by the statutes, which directed each boy to pay the master a fee of 6d. on admission. Mr. Read also lent me a copy of the statutes, dated 25 Dec. 1706, which were printed by *The Leicester Advertiser* in Jan. 1861, at the time of a public enquiry as to the possible re-organization of the School. The School opened in 1707.

contemporaries were educated under him at Appleby. Edward Repington, son and heir of Gilbert Repington of Tamworth, and brother of Johnson's Lichfield schoolfellow, Gilbert Repington the younger, entered the Writing School on 3 August 1725;* while Edward's youngest brother Charles entered the English School on 27 June 1727, the Writing School on 3 July 1727, and the Latin School on 24 January 1727/8. But the most interesting pupil to us was George Garrick, younger brother to David, and with him one of that little band of boys who had formed a nucleus for Johnson's educational experiment at Edial in 1736.† He entered the Latin School on 16 February 1736 (*i.e.*, 1736/7),‡ and the Writing School on 22 July 1737, so it is clear that when the Edial school came to an untimely end, he, as a boy of thirteen, was sent on to Appleby to complete his education under more settled conditions. The brothers Joseph and Stephen Simpson, sons of Stephen Simpson the elder, a Lichfield attorney, and nephews of Joseph Adey, the Town Clerk, entered the Latin School together on 21 June 1736: Joseph, afterwards the "barrister at law, of good parts, but who fell into a dissipated course of life," and was befriended by Johnson, had turned fifteen,§ while Stephen, the embryo Doctor of Medicine, was only twelve. It is quite likely that George Garrick, not yet sixteen, was still at the school, and if Johnson had been successful would have come under him once again as a pupil; as well as Stephen Simpson. At any rate we can see that Johnson would have personal knowledge of the School through the presence there of Lichfield boys whom he knew well.||

* He afterwards married Mary, daughter of Johnson's good friend, Theophilus Levett; see *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, III., 128; IV., 190.

† See *ante*, pp. 31, 45.

‡ This date is of great importance as bearing closely upon the life of the Edial school (see *ante*, p. 48), so I took particular care to satisfy myself of its correctness. An examination of the sequence of entries in Mr. Read's transcript of the register shewed conclusively that the 'old style' was, as we should expect, used in the dating of the pupil's entry, though in a few cases the 'double date' was actually given.

§ See *ante*, III., 133, 176; IV., 155-8, 163-5. Boswell describes Joseph Simpson as "a schoolfellow of Dr. Johnson's"; but this he could not have been (*ante*, III., 133), though he may have followed Johnson at Lichfield School, and 'finished' at Appleby.

|| Arthur Hinckley, of Lichfield (see *post*, p. 187, and Part VII.), entered the Latin School on 24 July 1788, and the Writing School on 22 Jan. 1789. Among other pupils of later days were Mrs. Johnson's great-grand-nephews, Richard Jervis (1787), and Knightley Smith (1785), 13th and youngest child of Holled Smith. See *ante*, p. 11, and *post*, Part VII.

The neighbouring county families sent many sons to Appleby School in its early days, and at least three sons of peers had been educated there before Johnson's application, the Hon. William Tracy* entering on 31 January 1725/6, the Hon. Francis Willoughby on 14 July 1733, and the Hon. Thomas Willoughby† on 5 May 1736, all in the Latin School, where the statutes allowed boys to remain until they attained eighteen.‡

Boswell says that Johnson was actually offered the mastership, provided that he could obtain his M.A. degree;§ and Hawkins, who is proved a good witness in this case, tells us that he went to Appleby in person to support his application.|| It is possible that this visit to Appleby inaugurated those "rambles upon which he had been forced" towards the end of 1739, which kept him away from London for some time.¶ It will be noticed that Lord Gower's letter endeavouring to procure him a degree was not written till 1 August 1739, sixteen days after the Governors had decided to appeal to the Bishop of Lincoln to exercise his power and appoint Thomas Mould on his own responsibility.

* William Tracy, eldest son of Thomas Charles, 5th Viscount Tracy (d. 1756), matric. 13 Apl. 1733, aged 17, at University Coll., Oxford, and died unmarr. in 1752 (Burke's *Extinct Peerages*; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). He was cousin to the Burdetts, for his aunt, Elizabeth, dau. of William, 4th Viscount Tracy, married Robert Burdett, and was mother of Sir Robert Burdett [1716-97], 4th bart. of Foremark (Burke's *Peerage*, and Burke's *Extinct Peerages*), who was a governor of the School at the date of Johnson's application (see *post*, p. 107). It will be noticed that the two cousins entered on the same day.

† Francis Willoughby [1726-74], afterwards 3rd Baron Middleton, and Thomas Willoughby [1728-81], afterwards M.P. for Notts., and 4th Baron, were elder and younger sons of Francis Willoughby, 2nd Baron Middleton. They entered Jesus Coll., Cambridge, in 1744 and 1745 respectively, both as from Bury St. Edmunds School, so that they must have moved on from Appleby (Burke's *Peerage*, 1863; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

‡ A writer in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1821, pt. I., p. 17, says that "since 1708 above 2000 persons have been educated here."

§ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 132.

|| See *ante*, p. 99. As already pointed out, Hawkins gave the date as August 1738, instead of August 1739 (see *ante*, p. 100). On 2 Aug. 1738 Johnson began to translate Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* for Cave (see *ante*, p. 85). The statutes of Appleby School laid down that "every candidate for any master's place void shall signify his name and place of abode by writing sent or left at every governor's house, within ten reputed miles of the school, three weeks at the least, before the day of election of such master."

¶ See *post*, p. 120.

Mr. Fitzgerald has argued closely against the Appleby attribution, opening thus:—

Boswell's difficulty here, as well as Mr. Croker's, has arisen from assuming that Pope had exerted his interest with Lord Gower on this particular occasion, viz. when the vacancy in the school offered. The truth seems to be, that Pope, wishing to serve Johnson, secured a general promise of patronage for the humble scholar, of which Lord Gower was reminded when a suitable opening came.*

But it seems to me that exactly the opposite is true, and that Pope's note shews conclusively how the interest he exerted with Lord Gower, on Johnson's behalf, was only in the case of this particular application for a mastership.† We have, of course, to ask why Pope, an intimate friend of Swift's, did not write to him direct, instead of approaching him in such a roundabout way. The answer to this seems to be that Pope did *not* seek to make any such use of Lord Gower: he simply wrote to him as to one possessing great public influence, especially in the Midland area, which he could usefully exert in Johnson's interest. It was the trustees of the school, as Lord Gower's own letter shews,‡ who wished him to evince his interest by obtaining a degree for Johnson, through the good offices of Swift. It cannot, by the way, be argued that perhaps Pope's note referred to another of Johnson's unsuccessful applications for scholastic employment, as we know of no other after the publication of *London*, in May 1738.§

Mr. Fitzgerald also enlisted the support of the Rev. W. S. Bamber, then Headmaster of Appleby School, who after a study of the minutes regretfully decided that Johnson's application must have been to some other foundation. His first point is that the trustees were not "worthy gentlemen in his neighbourhood," but rather from Leicestershire and Derbyshire. This is to interpret the expression too narrowly, and to speak without a proper understanding of the problem, which can only be dealt with after careful consideration of the list of Governors, eleven of whom, as follows, are enumerated in the minutes for June 1739,|| when the vacancy occurred:—

* Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 78.

† See *ante*, p. 98.

‡ See *ante*, p. 97.

§ See *ante*, p. 76.

|| Information of Mr. H. J. Ford, of Heather, co. Leic., a present Governor, and Hon. Sec., of Appleby School.

SIR JOHN HARPUR, BART. [1679-1741]. 4th bart., of Calke Abbey, co. Derby (17½ miles from Lichfield and 9 miles from Appleby). High Sheriff of Derbyshire 1702 (G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*; Burke's *Peerage*, under Harpur Crewe, barts.).

SIR THOMAS GRESLEY, BART. 4th bart. Born 1698 or 1699. Matric. 7 May 1716, at Balliol Coll., Oxford. Of Drakelow Park, co. Derby (10 miles from Lichfield and 8 miles from Appleby). Died 1746. Mard. 2ndly, 11 June 1739, at Haddon Chapel, Bakewell, Gertrude, only dau. and coheir of John Grammer, of Pledwick, Yorks.; she died in 1791, after spending most of her widowhood at Lichfield (*William Salt Archæological Society*, "Staffordshire Collections," new series, vol. I., "The Gresleys of Drakelow," by Falconer Madan, pp. 104-5; Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*).

SIR ROBERT BURDETT, BART. [1716-97]. 4th bart. of Foremark, co. Derby (17 miles from Lichfield and 10½ miles from Appleby). "Sr Robt Burdett" entered Appleby School on 31 Jan. 1725-6. Grandson of Sir Robert Burdett [1640-1716], 3rd bart., and Magdalen Aston his second wife. Second-cousin to Johnson's friends, the Misses Aston, and their sister, Mrs. Gilbert Walmesley (G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*; Burke's *Peerage*; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, V., Appendix M.). Uncle to Mrs. Nicholas of Chichester, of whom I wrote in my article, "A New Admirer for Dr. Johnson," *London Mercury*, Jan. 1930, p. 243.

GEORGE MOORE, ESQ. [1688-1751]. Succeeded his father, Thomas Moore (nephew of Sir John Moore, the founder), as Lord of the Manor of Little Appleby. High Sheriff of Leicestershire in 1728 (Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 443; *Visitation of England and Wales*, "Notes," vol. 12, ed. F. A. Crisp, pp. 83-7).

CHRISTOPHER HORTON, ESQ. [1701-64]. Of Catton Hall, par. of Croxall, co. Derby (7 miles from Lichfield and 8 miles from Appleby). Mard. Frances, daughter and sole heir of Sir Eusebius Buswell, Bart., and first cousin of Anne Buswell, who mard. in 1753 Charles Skrymsher Boothby, nephew to Johnson's "very near relation," Charles Skrymsher (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 249, 255, 265; Glover's *Derbyshire*, 1833, II., 204).

THEODORE WILLIAM INGE, ESQ. [1711-53]. Of Thorpe Constantine, co. Staffs. (9 miles from Lichfield and 4 miles from Appleby). An Oxford contemporary of Johnson's. Son of William Inge, the "gentleman of great eminence in Staffordshire," whom Johnson knew personally (see ante, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V., 71-2).

WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ. [d. 1744]. Of Stretton-en-le-Field, co. Leic. (11½ miles from Lichfield and 2 miles from Appleby). Latterly of Hildote, co. Staffs. Mard. Katherine, daughter and heir of Zouche Tate. Devised Stretton to his grandson, John Cave, son of his eldest daughter, Catherine, who mard. Roger Cave in 1721 and ancestor Cave-Browne-Cave, barts. (Nichols's *Leic.*, II., 888; III., 1029, and pedigree facing p. 1030; Burke's *Peerage*).

JOHN WYLDE, ESQ. As a Governor was elected in place of "John Wylde, Gent.," decd., at the meeting on 11 June 1740 (see *post*, p. 111), we can identify

him as John "Wilde," of Long Whatton, co. Leic. (24 miles from Lichfield and 14 miles from Appleby), gent., who died, aged 56, without issue, on 11 June 1739, the very day of the meeting that dealt with Samuel Martin's retirement. He was only son of William Wilde, gent., of Long Whatton, by Elizabeth his first wife, daughter of Thomas Aynesworth, of the same place: this William Wilde having mard., 2ndly, Joan, second daughter of George Moore, of Little Appleby, brother to Sir John Moore, the founder of the School. I presume, too, that he was the "John Wilde, of Long Whatton," who mard. Sarah, eldest daughter of Thomas Moore, and sister of George and John Moore, the Governors; she was bapt. 24 Dec. 1680, and died without issue 18 Feb. 1739/40. John Wilde's uncle, an elder John Wilde, had married Anna, daughter of the Rev. Abraham Mould, Rector and Patron of Great Appleby; so it will be seen how closely all these families were connected. "The Rev. John Wild, of Long Whatton, clerk," was one of the Governors who sat at the first audit meeting of the School on 11 June 1707, and Venn identifies this man with the John Wilde who died in 1739, but it seems extremely unlikely that a clerk in holy orders would be described as "gent." in formal school minutes (Nichols's *Leic.*, III., 1109, IV., 441, 443-4; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Visitation of England and Wales*, "Notes," vol. 12, ed. F. A. Crisp, pp. 83-7).

GODFREY CLARKE, ESQ. Of Chilcote, co. Derby (10 miles from Lichfield and 3 miles from Appleby). Mard. in 1738 Anne, only child of German Pole, of Radbourne, co. Derby, esq., by Sarah his first wife, daughter of Joseph Bagnall (Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Chandos-Pole of Radbourne").

THOMAS GRESLEY, ESQ. [1668-1743]. Of Netherseal, co. Leic. (11 miles from Lichfield and 2½ miles from Appleby). Brother of Sir William Gresley, 3rd bart., and uncle of Sir Thomas Gresley, 4th bart. above. High Sheriff of Leicestershire 1712-13 (*William Salt Archæological Society*, "Staffordshire Collections," New Series, I., 102-3).

REV. GEORGE GELL, CLERK. [1674-1743]. M.A. Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge. Vicar of Castle Donington, co. Leic., 1704-23. Rector of Great Appleby, 1731-43 (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). His daughter Catherine in 1740 mard. Thomas Moore, brother to George and John, the two Governors.

The two missing names, which bring the list up to its proper number of thirteen, are:—

CHARLES JENNENS, ESQ. [1662-1747]. Of "Gops Hall," co. Leic. (Gopsal, 15 miles from Lichfield and 3 miles from Appleby). Eldest surviving son of Humphrey Jennens, the great Birmingham ironmaster. He mard. 2ndly. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Burdett, 3rd bart., and aunt to Sir Robert Burdett, 4th bart. above (Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 856, 859; Burke's *Peerage*). Attended meeting of 11 June 1728, but never again. Succeeded as a Governor by his son, Charles Jennens [1700-73], the friend of Handel (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

JOHN MOORE [1693-1756]. Of Bedford Row, London, and afterwards of Southgate. Younger brother of George Moore above. Of the Middle Temple.

Elected a Governor 11 June 1733, in place of George Moore, of London, merchant, decd. (Nichols's *Leic.*, IV., 443; *Visitation of England and Wales*, "Notes," vol. 12, ed. F. A. Crisp, pp. 83-7). Mr. Ford says that the London Governors did not apparently trouble to attend the meetings, which is not very surprising.

It is true that Johnson was a Staffordshire man, and that of the thirteen Governors only one was actually seated in that county, all the others belonging to Leicestershire and Derbyshire. But most of them, in spite of that, were really "gentlemen in his neighbourhood." Appleby itself is only some dozen miles from Lichfield as the crow flies, and the Gresleys at Drakelow, the Hortons at Catton, the Inges at Thorpe Constantine, and several other of the families from which the Governors were drawn, lived within a smaller radius of his birth-place.* And it must be remembered that his father, as the leading bookseller in the district, was probably well known to all the principal families in the adjoining counties; and he would be especially familiar in the particular area in question, for he had a branch, perhaps just a stall in the market, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, only about five miles from Appleby.† Johnson himself, again, had spent some very miserable months as an usher at Market Bosworth, seven or eight miles away in the other direction.‡ Then we know, on his own authority, that he had met William Inge, father of one of the Governors; while Sir Robert Burdett, another Governor, was second-cousin to his dear Lichfield friends, the Astons, one of whom had married Gilbert Walmesley, the man who did so much to direct and influence his early life. And it is perfectly certain that most of the people in question would frequently have cause to visit Lichfield, a centre for many social and official activities, and would be well known to Gilbert Walmesley, if not actually at times his guests.

But we have more positive evidence. Hawkins, as we have seen, says that Johnson made his application "by the advice of Sir Thomas Griesly,§ a Derbyshire baronet, and other friends."|| The fact that

* It must be remembered, too, that Lord Gower, writing from Trentham, in North Staffordshire, would be much more inclined to view the abutting portions of South Staffordshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire as one neighbourhood, for the further a district is away the more we minimise its local distances.

† See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 10-11.

‡ *Ibid.*, V., 73-87.

§ This was phonetic spelling, and some branches of the family still pronounce the name as indicated.

|| See ante, p. 99.

Hawkins, almost half-a-century after the event, actually gives the name of one of the then Governors of Appleby School, makes argument almost superfluous. Mr. Gissing, without knowledge of Hawkins's explicit reference, assumed that Sir Thomas Gresley and the other Governors who absented themselves from the meetings formed a "Johnsonian party,"* and certainly of the five who attended there were four, George Moore, William Browne, the Rev. George Gell and John Moore,† who would naturally be expected to favour the candidature of Thomas Mould, two by reason of kinship and two as local residents. But the absence of Johnson's principal sponsor, Sir Thomas Gresley, from the meeting of 11 June 1739, cannot be claimed as entirely due to his Johnsonian sympathies, for on that very day he was at Haddon marrying a second wife.‡ Nor can another Governor, John Wylde, be put into the party, for the death which came to him, by an extraordinary coincidence, on the same day again,§ invests his name for us with a fine neutrality.

The second point put forward to Fitzgerald by Mr. Bamber was that, as Thomas Mould had applied for the post, and was of founder's kin, the Governors were bound to nominate him;|| and his third that the recommendation to the Bishop of Lincoln, of 16 July 1739, was practically equivalent to Thomas Mould's appointment. But it is clear, from the fact of the Governors mostly absenting themselves from the meetings, that there must have been opposition to Mould, and while the appointment still lay, technically at least, open, we must presume that Johnson was urged to press his claim, in spite of his obvious disqualifications. It is disappointing that the School minutes do not record the date of Mould's actual appointment, or whether the

* *Cornhill Magazine*, 1926, Apl., pp. 410-11.

† John Moore did not appear at the second meeting, of 11 July 1739, but the minute of 16 July suggests that he would have been there if not ill (*ante*, p. 102). The Moores however, did not always support the Moulds, for Mr. Ford tells me that at a meeting of 8 Apl. 1746, when a younger Thomas Mould was appointed English Master (see *ante*, p. 103), George Moore wrote under the minute that the Governors were not carrying out the trust deed, and that a Moore should have been appointed.

‡ See *ante*, p. 107.

§ See *ante*, p. 108.

|| The statutes say.—"We ordain that if any of the founder's family shall at any time desire to be schoolmaster of the said School, he shall have the preference to all others, so as he be capable of that office."

Bishop really exercised his powers in the matter.* But, fortunately, the information can be supplied from another source. Canon Foster, to whom I turned in my difficulty, discovered this entry among the Bishop of Lincoln's records:—

Licence to Appleby School	December y ^e 12th 1739. Thomas Mould, Clerk, M.A., was Collated to the Free-School of Appleby in the County of Leicester Devolved to the Bishop by Lapse And was in due form Licenced to Perform y ^e Office of a Schoolmaster there (Lincoln Episcopal Register, 38, p. 373).
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So it is clear the Bishop acted under his powers, and that, no doubt, is why there is a hiatus in the minutes of the School. We see, too, that it was practically five months after the Governors' petition that Thomas Mould was actually licenced to the post.

Mr. Fitzgerald says that "if the office was filled up on July 16, Lord Gower would not have written in favour of Johnson a fortnight later."† But we have seen that it was *not* filled up then, however heavy the odds may have been in favour of Mr. Mould. Mr. Fitzgerald concludes:—

Mr. Boswell's original statement, therefore, that the school in question was in Staffordshire,‡ seems the true one, especially as it is also founded on a passage in Bishop Percy's letter, who writes to him that not far from Stourbridge was the Free Grammar School of Tresul, in Staffordshire, as to which Pope's interest had been exerted.§

But I think that I have already sufficiently disposed of the Trysull story.||

* The next entry is not until 11 June 1740, and records that "Upon the decease of John Wylde, Gent., Wrightson Mundy Esq. of Osbaston, was appointed governor in his place. Ordered that Mr. Thomas Mould, Latin Master [this was the Headmaster's official title], shall wait on the said Mr. Mundy to acquaint him therewith." Wrightson Mundy, who married Sir Robert Burdett's sister Anne, was the father of Mrs. Nicholas (see *ante*, pp. 31, 107).

† It is rather amusing that Mr. Fitzgerald, while relying on the argument that places within a dozen miles of Lichfield were not in its neighbourhood, should say that Lord Gower "dates from Trentham, *close-by* [Appleby], where he must have heard of Mr. Mould's appointment." Trentham is 34 miles from Appleby.

‡ In his first edition Boswell described the school as "in Staffordshire," but in later editions deleted the words (Fitzgerald's *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 77).

§ *Ibid.*, I., 79.

|| See *ante*, p. 99, and *post*, Appendix G., p. 161.

It is a curious fact, hitherto unnoticed, that Lord Gower was a sort of nephew-by-marriage to Sir Wolstan Dixie, Johnson's *bête-noire* at Market Bosworth.* And it is of interest to remember that he

* In 1733 Gower had married, for his second wife, Penelope, dau. of Sir John Stonehouse, 3rd bart., and widow of Sir Henry Atkins, 4th bart., who was son of Sir Henry Atkins, 3rd bart., by Rebecca Maria, sister of the Sir Wolstan Dixie in question. The second Lady Gower, however, died in 1734 (Burke's *Peevage*, and *Extinct Baronetries*). For Sir Wolstan Dixie, see *ante*, V., 82-7. At that reference I suggested that, if Sir Wolstan wanted Johnson to live in his house as a kind of private chaplain while he was usher, "the statutes of a school of which he was the principal trustee would not be allowed to stand in his way." This receives ample corroboration in Nicholas Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, 1818, I., 757, where particulars are given of an information filed against the then Sir Wolstan Dixie, and his brother Willoughby Dixie, in 1801, by some local gentlemen farmers, on account of abuses in the management of Market Bosworth School. "The Information farther stated, that after the death of Sir WOLSTAN DIXIE, the Nephew and Heir of the Founder, and the succeeding Heirs, assumed the entire management of the School, being the Patrons of the Church, and Owners of most of the Houses and Lands in the Parish: that particularly no Governors had been appointed from 1740 until the death of Sir WOLSTAN DIXIE, the Father of the Defendants Sir WOLSTAN DIXIE and WILLOUGHBY DIXIE, in 1767; during which period the rents and profits of the Premises, belonging to the School, were received by Sir WOLSTAN DIXIE, the Father: and, after his death, by the Defendant Sir WOLSTAN DIXIE, until a Commission of Lunacy issued against him, in 1769; and, from that period the Rents were received by his Brother and Committee, the Defendant WILLOUGHBY DIXIE." The Sir Wolstan who died in 1767 was he who made Johnson's life so miserable. Lord Eldon (who, as John Scott, had known Johnson), in giving his decree as Lord Chancellor and referring the case to the Master in Chancery, passed some very severe strictures on the Dixie family and their mismanagement of the School.

Mr. Laithwaite has discovered a very interesting entry in the Court Roll of the View of Frankpledge, at Lichfield, of 24 Jan. 1726/7:—

Item—They [the Jurors] present the Honble. Lady Dixie Tennant to the Bishop's Pallace in the Close for not keeping a sufficient Fence with railes between Gay Lane & the Dimble being very Dangerous for all Passengers

And amerce her Ladyship for the same 6s—8d

This Lady Dixie must have been Rebecca, dau. of Sir Richard Atkins, 1st bart., of Clapham, Surrey, who mard. Sir Wolstan Dixie [1657-1713], 3rd bart., in 1685. She died in Dec. 1744, and was buried at Clapham (G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*). It was her son and heir who earned Johnson's intense dislike, and now we see her as resident in the Bishop's Palace at Lichfield, socially intimate, no doubt, with Gilbert Walmesley and the Astons, we are provided with an excellent explanation of how Johnson came to the notice of the young baronet. The "Dimble or dry Ditch" is shewn on John Snape's plan of Lichfield, 1781, between the back wall of the Palace Garden and Gay Lane. The word 'dimble,' in its ordinary literary acceptance, is said usually to have meant merely a glen or retired place, but in some of the Midland counties to have had a more restricted application to a ravine with a watercourse running through it. Lichfield seems to have used the word without a proper regard for dictionary definitions.

was the same man whose unofficial librarian and man of business, the Rev. George Plaxton,* wrote in 1716, from his patron's house at Trentham, the famous letter saying that "Johnson, the Litchfield Librarian, is now here," and half humorously dwelling on his accomplishments. And he also was the Lord Gower who deserted the Jacobite cause, and was very nearly pilloried therefor in Johnson's *Dictionary*, under 'renegade.' Whether, when he wrote the letter in 1739, he realised that the Johnson he was befriending was son to old Michael Johnson, the Lichfield bookseller, whom he had probably seen at Trentham,† does not appear, though one would suspect him to have done so. He was evidently profoundly sceptical as to the wisdom of writing the letter at all, though fully in sympathy with its object. There is a kindly humour running through it which attracts us to the writer. Whether the matter was ever brought to Swift's notice we do not actually know, and, in view of its terms, it would hardly have been politic, or in Johnson's interest, to shew the letter to him. Dr. Elrington Ball, however, thinks that he must have received it, as it seems to have been found among some papers connected with him.‡

It has been suggested that the prejudice which Johnson evidently entertained towards Swift was due to this affair.§ But it is very unlikely; and even if Swift really was approached, and declined to help, and his refusal became known to Johnson (a rather long chain of assumptions), it is hard to believe that lasting enmity would have resulted. As a matter of fact, Boswell questioned him as to his "unaccountable prejudice against Swift," asking him if he "had personally offended him, and he told me he had not."|| Bishop Percy, too, did not credit such an explanation, and said that the real cause was supposed to be Swift's treatment of the Rev. Dr. Madden, whose application for a contribution to a fund for giving premiums to students of Trinity College was refused by Swift "with so little delicacy, as left

* I find that George Griffith, in his *Free Schools of Staffordshire*, 1860, p. 285, describes him as "the Rev. Mr. Plaxton, chaplain and principal agent to the first Lord Gower," who compiled a book (then at Trentham) dealing with Lord Gower's property.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 81-3.

‡ *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. Elrington Ball, VI., 209-10.

§ *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 59-60; Robert Anderson's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, pp. 80-1.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, V., 44.

in Dr. Madden a rooted dislike to Swift's character, which he communicated to Johnson."* This is an explanation much more honourable to Johnson, as well as one much easier to credit.

* Robert Anderson's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, pp. 80-1. Samuel Madden [1686-1765], D.D., miscellaneous writer and philanthropist, "appears to have been on friendly terms with Swift" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He is mentioned several times by Johnson in his life of Swift, but I find no suggestion of this private quarrel (*Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill).

CHAPTER X.

TOWN OR COUNTRY: THE FINAL STRUGGLE

Objection to being labelled as a schoolmaster, though honouring the profession—Thoughts of practising in Doctors' Commons, but disqualified by lack of degree—His cousin, Cornelius Jesson, the London sailcloth maker—Was Johnson at Oxford in 1739?—At Lichfield early in 1740—His sympathetic letter to his wife—The great winter of 1739-40: his contempt for weather-talk—The length of his "rambles" in the country—A year's gap in his Gentleman's Magazine contributions—The letter to his wife self-reproachful—A couple not disposed to economy—Temporary separation—A lady's account of his stay at Ashburne; probably early in 1740—Makes the acquaintance of Miss Hill Boothby—Johnson's connexion with the Boothbys—"Old Meynell," of Bradley, and his verdict on foreigners—The younger Meynell, father of fox-hunting—Mary Meynell, and her marriage to William Fitzherbert of Tissington—Richard Graves's chaplaincy at Tissington furnishes portraits for his Spiritual Quixote—Johnson's friend, Dr. Lawrence, marries a Chauncy from Ashburne—Rousseau's strange incursion into the district in 1766—Johnson's final farewell to the country in 1740.

THAT Johnson felt deeply the various rebuffs he encountered, culminating at Appleby, in his endeavour to become a schoolmaster, was evidently the opinion of Hawkins, who says that he was as little pleased to be called "Doctor," on the strength of his honorary Dublin degree—conferred upon him in 1765,*

as he was with the title of Domine, which a friend of his once incautiously addressed him by. He thought it alluded to his having been a school-master; and, though he has ably vindicated Milton from the reproach that Salmasius meant to fix on him,† by saying that he was of that profession, he wished to have it forgot, that himself had ever been driven to it as the means of subsistence, and had failed in the attempt.‡

It was "about this time," according to Boswell, that Johnson "applied to Dr. Adams, to consult Dr. Smalbroke of the Commons,

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 488-9.

† He was always anxious that credit should be given to the schoolmasters of distinguished men. See *ante*, III., 83, and *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 159, where he says in his life of John Hughes that "the name of his master is somewhat ungratefully concealed."

‡ Hawkins's *Life of Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 446.

whether a person might be permitted to practice as an advocate there, without a doctor's degree in Civil Law."* But this probably represented a later "effort to emancipate himself from the drudgery of authorship," for Richard Smalbroke, who took his B.A. from University College in 1736, and his M.A. from All Souls' in 1740, did not himself become B.C.L. and D.C.L. until 1745.† so in 1739 could not have begun to practise as an advocate in Doctors' Commons.‡ "The want of a degree," says Boswell, "was an insurmountable bar" to Johnson, so that any ambition to win that "great eminence" to which Dr. Adams thought he would have attained in the law was nipped in the bud. Johnson told Boswell at Edinburgh, on 15 August 1773, that he applied himself to "tragick poetry," because he "had not money to study law."§

It is to be remarked that in August or September 1739 there died in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate Street, Cornelius Jesson, a second cousin of Johnson's, and "one of the most considerable Sail-Cloth-Makers in England."|| Whether the two kinsmen met we do not know, but Cornelius Jesson the elder, Steward of Christ's Hospital from 1703 till his death in 1723, probably saw Johnson in 1712, when

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 134.

† Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. Richard Smalbroke [1716?-1805] was a son of Richard Smalbroke [1672-1749], Bishop of Lichfield (see *ante*, III., 35).

‡ When a Royal Charter was granted to "Doctors' Commons" in 1768 its members were limited to "those doctors of law who, having regularly taken that degree in either of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and having been admitted advocates in pursuance of the rescript of the archbishop of Canterbury, were elected fellows in the manner prescribed by the charter" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*). And at an earlier date it was known as "The College of Doctors of Law exercent in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts" (William Senior's *Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty*, 1922, p. 35). Sir Lewis T. Dibdin, Dean of the Arches, in *The Quarterly Review* for July 1932, pp. 11-12, says that "it was a necessary preliminary to admission as a Fellow of the Corporation of Doctors' Commons that a man should be an Advocate of the Court of Arches. The process of admission as an Advocate of the Arches was as follows: (1) The applicant, being a Doctor of Laws of Oxford or Cambridge (i.e. D.C.L. or LL.D.) and a layman, presented his petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking for admission as an Advocate of his Court of Arches. If the Archbishop proposed to grant this petition he issued his fiat for admission to his Vicar-General, who thereupon caused a Commission to be prepared addressed to the Dean of the Arches requiring the Dean to admit the applicant as an Advocate of that Court. To this Commission a proviso was always added that the new Advocate was not to practise for a year after admission, in order that by listening to what passed in Court he might acquire a knowledge of its proceedings."

§ *Tour to Hebrides*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 1924, p. 181.

|| *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 136, 198.

his mother brought him, as a scrofulous infant, from Lichfield, to lodgings close-by Christ's Hospital.*

According to Wooll's *Memoirs of Joseph Warton*, a letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739, p. 601, complimenting Mr. Urban on recent poetry in the magazine, and dated "Oxford, Nov. 19, 1739," was from Johnson.† Against this must be pitted Thomas Warton's assertion that when Johnson visited Oxford in 1754, it "was the first time of his being there, after quitting the University."‡ And it must be admitted that the general style of the letter by no means encourages the attribution, which, if it could be established, would be of much interest. For ten weeks later he wrote a letter to his wife, from Lichfield, which suggests that he had been travelling about the country for some time. If he went to Appleby in August 1739, was at Oxford in November 1739, and in January 1739/40 was at Lichfield after a considerable absence from his wife, we could easily believe that he had been out of London during the whole period. The letter to his wife, one of the few definite pieces of evidence to which we can anchor ourselves at this obscure portion of his career, I print in full, not because Dr. Birkbeck Hill considered it the "gem of his collection,"§ but because its terms have to be carefully weighed:—

DEAREST TETTY,

After hearing that you are in so much danger, as I apprehend from a hurt on a tendon, I shall be very uneasy till I know that you are recovered, and beg that you will omit nothing that can contribute to it, nor deny yourself any thing that may make confinement less melancholy. You have already suffered more than I can bear to reflect upon, and I hope more than either of us shall suffer again. One part at least I have often flattered myself we shall avoid for the future, our troubles will surely never separate us more. If M[]|| does not easily succeed in his endeavours, let him not [] to call in another Surgeon to consult with him, Y[] have two or three visits from Ranby¶ or Shipton,** who is [] to be the best, for a

* See *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 61-4.

† W. P. Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 11.

‡ Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 271.

§ *Letters of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., xiii.

|| The gaps represent a tear in the paper of the original.

¶ John Ranby [1703-73], F.R.S., appointed Surgeon-in-Ordinary to the King's Household the preceding year (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

** John Shipton [1680-1748], of Brooke Street, Holborn, an eminent surgeon, had been called into consultation by Ranby, in 1737, in last illness of Queen Caroline (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

guinea, which you need not fear to part with on so pressing an occasion, for I can send you twenty pounds more on Monday, which I have received this night; I beg therefore that you will more regard my happiness, than to expose yourself to any hazards. I still promise myself many happy years from your tenderness and affection, which I sometimes hope our misfortunes have not yet deprived me of. David wrote to me this day on the affair of Irene, who is at last become a kind of Favourite among the Players, Mr. Fletewood* promises to give a promise in writing that it shall be the first next season, if it cannot be introduced now, and Chetwood† the Prompter is desirous of bargaining for the copy, and offers fifty Guineas for the right of printing after it shall be played. I hope it will at length reward me for my perplexities.

Of the time which I have spent from thee, and of my dear Lucy and other affairs, my heart will be at ease on Monday to give Thee a particular account, especially if a Letter should inform me that thy leg is better, for I hope you do not think so unkindly of me as to imagine that I can be at rest while I believe my dear Tetty in pain.

Be assured, my dear Girl, that I have seen nobody in these rambles upon which I have been forced, that has not contribute [*sic*] to confirm my esteem and affection for thee,‡ though that esteem and affection only contributed to encrease my unhappiness when I reflected that the most amiable woman in the world was exposed by my means to miseries which I could not relieve.

I am

My charming Love

Yours

SAM: JOHNSON.

Jan. 31st, 1739-40.

Lucy always sends her Duty and my Mother her Service.

To Mrs. Johnson at Mrs. Crow's in Castle

Street near Cavendish Square, London.§

* See *ante*, p. 73.

† William Rufus Chetwood, prompter at Drury Lane.

‡ John Taylor, as quoted by Mrs. Nicholas, "says of poor dear Tetty. that she was the plague of Johnson's life, was abominably drunken and despicable every way, & Johnson had frequently complain'd to him of the wretchedness of his situation with such a Wife" (my article, "A New Admirer for Dr. Johnson," *London Mercury*, Jan., p. 248, and Feb., p. 356, 1930). Here is the requisite choice of evidence for some Lytton Strachey of the future.

§ *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 3-6. This Castle Street is in the parish of St. Mary le Bone, and the register there shows that "John Crow and Ann Covell" were married on 14 May 1738, and "William Crow and Abigail Herbert" on 6 Dec. 1738, all the parties being "of this parish" (*Harleian Soc.*, "Register Section," vol. 47, pp. 243, 244). Possibly it was with one of these couples that the Johnsons lodged. A search in the baptismal register from 1735 to 1745 shews that Anne Crow, dau. of William and Anne, was born 22 Feb. and bapt. on 16 Mch. 1734/5; Charles Crow, son of William and Abigail, born 30 Dec. and bapt. 2 Feb. 1741/2; and Elizabeth Crow, dau. of William and Abigail, born 8 Sept. and bapt. 7 Oct. 1744. The burials

Johnson always professed the greatest contempt for conversation about the weather. "Let us not talk of the weather," he would protest to his friends.* "Pride must have a fall," he wrote, when, near the end of his life, he let slip to Dr. Burney a remark about the cold summer.† In this letter to his wife he deserves some credit for his abstinence from the topic; for it was written in the midst of one of the greatest frosts of the century. He himself, long afterwards, related how, "in the dreadful winter of Forty," Pope called a maidservant four times from her bed in one night to supply him with fresh writing paper. On 18 January Swift spoke of "nothing but frost and misery" for the last twenty-five days.‡ It began on 26 December, and "grew more severe than has been known since the memorable Winter of 1715-16; so that many who had lived Years at *Hudson's-Bay*, declar'd they never felt it colder in those Parts." The Thames was frozen over, and a "Frost-Fair" held on it.§ On 8 January Aaron Hill wrote to Richardson that he was "half frozen-up here in Essex".|| "It thaws, it thaws, it thaws!", exclaimed Richard West to Walpole on 23 January: but his delight must have been premature, and his inclination to sun-worship soon revived.¶ The impression left in the minds of Staffordshire people is evidenced by an old tabular pedigree of the Darwins, which so far departs from the austere brevity we look for in

from 1740 to 1764 are as follows:—John Crow, 29 Aug. 1740; Elizabeth Crow, 11 Oct. 1741; Elizabeth Crow, a child, 10 Apl. 1746; Mary Crow, a child, 4 Jan. 1746/7; William Crow, 1 Oct. 1752; Anthony Crow, 29 Aug. 1753; William Crow, a child, 10 Feb. 1754; Lucy Crow, 15 Feb. 1755; Charles Crow, a child, 17 Feb. 1760; William Crow, a child, 5 Nov. 1760; and Charles Crow, 5 Mch. 1761. In view of the fact that Johnson's first lodgings in London were with one Norris, a *staymaker* (see *ante*, p. 65), it aroused my curiosity to find, in a list of contributors towards "making Mrs. Stephen's Medicines Public. From April 11, to the End of December, 1738," the name of "Mr. John Crow, staymaker, £1. 7. 0" (*Gent. s Mag.*, 1739, Jan., p. 49). This seems a clue worth following. "Mrs. Stephens received the 5000l. Reward for discovering her Medicines" (*ibid.*, 1740, Mch., p. 142). Hugh Kelly [1739-77], a writer for whom Johnson had a "real friendship," who came to London in 1760, acknowledged the trade of a staymaker, though a poor hand at it (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). If Johnson had any partiality for staymakers, he might be interested to visit Ashburne today and find that the principal industry of the town is the manufacture of corsets.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 426.

† *Ibid.*, IV., 360.

‡ *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, III., 209.

§ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740, p. 35.

|| *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, 1804, I., 38.

¶ *Gray and His Friends*, by Duncan C. Tovey, 1890, p. 138.

such a document as to tell us that Erasmus Darwin's first wife, Mary Howard, was born, at Lichfield, on 12 February 1740, "in the great Frost."* In that month residents in North Staffordshire could gaze upon the result of a rivulet dripping down a rock at Ipstones, in the shape of a column of ice "10 Yards 3qrs. high, and 12 about."†

Johnson's letter will scarcely enable us to reconstruct the story of the "rambles upon which he had been forced," but it encourages the conclusion that they had been of some duration. I have already referred to the letter written from Oxford on 19 November 1739, which has been attributed to Johnson.‡ With that exception (if anyone can seriously regard it as such), he made, so far as is known, no definite contribution to *The Gentleman's Magazine* from May 1739 to June 1740, a period of a whole year; and from 1738 onwards to 1743 there is no such corresponding break in his acknowledged connexion with Cave's journal.§ It seems quite possible that the long delay, extending from November 1736 to April 1739, in the award of the prizes for the poems on the "Divine Attributes," if principally due to Johnson,|| may have caused a temporary rupture with Cave. It is true that he is supposed to have revised the Parliamentary Debates from June 1738; but, as we have seen, he did not actually begin to write them until 19 November 1740.¶ The evidence leaves us perfectly at liberty to conclude that Johnson's absence from London extended from August 1739, when he went to Appleby, to the middle of 1740, when the "Life" of Admiral Blake, which began in the June number, and the "Life" of Sir Francis Drake, which began in the August number,** make it likely that he had returned to town. We have seen that he published his *Marmor Norfolciense* in April 1739,†† and his *Compleat Vindication* in the month following.‡‡ After that no separate

* *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, IV., 112.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740, p. 78.

‡ See ante, p. 117.

§ See Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, pp. 5-6, 10-14; and *Gent.'s Mag.* for the actual months in which articles appeared, which it would have been well to give.

|| See ante, pp. 87-8.

¶ See ante, p. 88.

** See Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 11; and *Gent.'s Mag.* for months.

†† See ante, p. 94.

‡‡ See ante, p. 94.

publication is attributed to him until the *Harleian Catalogue* volumes of 1743.*

The tearful farewell to Savage took place in July 1739.† After that, therefore, the decks are clear for the trip to Appleby and the prolonged "rambles" about the country, of which we can positively say, from Johnson's letter of 31 January 1739/40, that they had already lasted some considerable period, and were not yet over. But what the circumstances were which "forced" him upon these rambles there is nothing to shew. "Our troubles will surely never separate us more," he says; and, again, "I sometimes hope our misfortunes have not yet deprived me of your tenderness and affection."‡ There seems a measure of self-reproach in this, the reason for which is unexplained. Whether the "troubles" and "misfortunes" were simply those attendant on straightened means we can only guess; but his concluding regret, that she had been "exposed by *my* means to miseries which I could not relieve," suggests some more definite fault on his part. The period when he and his wife occupied separate lodgings for a short while§ seems to belong to the time of his association with Savage, which ended, as just stated, in July 1739, so it is possible that when Johnson went to Appleby next month he only left bachelor lodgings and was encouraged by domestic infelicity to prolong his stay in the country. Certainly on 31 January 1739/40 it must have been a good long while since he had written to his wife, for he says that his heart will be at ease on Monday—when he was to forward her the £20—to give her a particular account of the time he has spent away from her. His letter was written on a Thursday, and we rather gather that he thought he might get a reply by Monday.

One cause of difference between Johnson and his wife is said to have centred round the principles of domestic economy:—

She disliked the profusion, with which he constantly gave away all the money about him; and he found with astonishment and concern, that whatever he provided or laid up for family exigence, was always gone before he expected.||

* Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 13.

† See *ante*, p. 80.

‡ See *ante*, pp. 117-18.

§ See *ante*, p. 84.

|| *Memoirs of Dr. Johnson* [by William Shaw], 1785, pp. 111-12.

Reminiscences of nocturnal wanderings, improved by the lapse of time,* or even tragic tales of poverty coming red-hot from the pen of an aggrieved young man excited by the act of poetical composition,† are not very convincing evidence of hardships endured.‡ But there is one remark, in his utterly unrhetical and simply truthful "Annals," which tells us of a period of unquestionable poverty, where he speaks of the little silver cup bought for him by his mother in London in 1712, as "one of the last pieces of plate which dear Tetty sold in our distress."§ This, however, may have been at some later period. Richard Cumberland, in his memories of Johnson, says he had "heard that illustrious scholar assert (and he never varied from the truth of fact) that he subsisted himself for a considerable space of time upon the scanty pittance of fourpence halfpenny per day."|| The nicety of such a calculation compels our admiration.

Johnson's uncommon "flushness" of purse when he wrote to his wife from Lichfield on this occasion, which allows him to suggest the names of two fashionable surgeons as suitable men to examine the hurt to her tendon,¶ I have explained elsewhere. It was due to the fact that on that very day he had effected a mortgage of his "Birthplace" at Lichfield to Theophilus Levett, who had advanced £80 on the property, of which Johnson himself seems to have received £20 as his share.**

Croker reproves Hawkins for attributing a temporary separation between Johnson and his wife—"very uncharitably"—to "the influence of Savage"; and points out that Hawkins "*alone asserts*"—his own italics—that such a separation ever took place. But this letter of Johnson's fully supports the idea that there had been a separation—even apart from that which naturally resulted from his absence in the country—and that he had been in some way to blame. We see him

* See *ante*, pp. 83-4.

† His poem *London*: see *ante*, p. 74.

‡ See *ante*, pp. 84, 91-3. Croker, I notice (his *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 50), was convinced that the tales of "night-walking," etc., were "much exaggerated even by Boswell."

§ *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 135; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, *ante*, III., 64.

|| *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland*, 1807, I., 355-6.

¶ See *ante*, p. 117.

** See *ante*, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, IV., 9-10.

here as the suppliant, anxious to rejoin his wife and make amends for neglect. It seems very doubtful whether he had heard directly from his wife of her injury, or only from a third party. At any rate, he clearly had not been writing to her for some time, and seized this opportunity of re-opening friendly relations. Croker's opinion that, if there were a separation, "pecuniary distress" alone must have been the cause, has no value—and in explaining marital differences we are not compelled to judge between the crude alternatives of poverty and adultery.*

There is another interesting record of Johnson which is assigned to this period. It is "the testimony of a lady" (unnamed), communicated to Boswell by a daughter of Johnson's "intimate friend and physician, Dr. Lawrence," to shew that his early experience of polite society "was not merely occasional and temporary, or confined to the circles of Lichfield":—

She remembers Dr. Johnson on a visit to Dr. Taylor, at Ashbourn, some time between the end of the year 37, and the middle of the year 40; she rather thinks it to have been after he and his wife were removed to London. During his stay at Ashbourn, he made frequent visits to Mr. Meynell, at Bradley, where his company was much desired by the ladies of the family, who were, perhaps, in point of elegance and accomplishments, inferior to few of those with whom he was afterwards acquainted. Mr. Meynell's eldest daughter was afterwards married to Mr. Fitzherbert, father to Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, lately minister to the Court of Russia. Of her, Dr. Johnson said, in Dr. Lawrence's study, that she had the best understanding he ever met with in any human being. At Mr. Meynell's he also commenced that friendship with Mrs. Hill Boothby, sister to the present Sir Brook Boothby, which continued till her death.†

This lady is a good witness: she professes no easy exactitude as to the date of the Ashburne visit, but gains our confidence by being content to fix it within the definite limits of "the end of the year 37, and the middle of the year 40," which probably represented domestic events in her own life. So we must accept that part of her chronology.‡

* See Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 50.

† Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 82-3. The remainder of this extract deals with Johnson's friendship with Molly Aston, Gilbert Walmesley and Dr. Swynfen, and does not bear directly, if at all, on the Ashburne reminiscences.

‡ Croker says "The anonymous lady's information is of no great value, even if true, but there is strong reason to doubt its accuracy. It is full of chronological difficulties, and can be at best but the vague recollections of 50 years before, as the quotation from *Hawkins* ascertains it to have been given subsequent to 1787" (Croker's

Now we have seen that Johnson had returned to London, with his wife, by the end of 1737,* and that thereafter, until his visit to Appleby in August 1739, he had been continuously occupied with literary work. There thus seems no doubt that this stay at Ashburne, which was obviously of some length, must have been after the Appleby visit, and must therefore be associated with "the rambles upon which he had been forced," spoken of in his letter to his wife on 31 January 1739/40.† It helps to support the idea that he was absent from London continuously from August 1739 till at least February 1739/40. But as our forward limit is probably the middle of 1740,‡ it leaves a possibility that the stay at Ashburne was in the Spring of that year.

Miss Hill Boothby, on this evidence, would seem first to have met Johnson, at Bradley, in the winter of 1739/40, when she was a young woman of thirty-one, almost a year his senior; but the writer does not make it absolutely clear. Croker, however, appears to read it that way; and controverts the anonymous anecdotist, as well as Miss Seward, by asserting that Miss Boothby's first letter to Johnson, dated 30 July 1753, "proves that the acquaintance was then recent."§ But it does nothing of the kind. It shews that it marks the beginning of their correspondence, which Johnson in his letter, to which hers is a reply, had requested; but it also evidences previous acquaintance. She expresses her diffidence

at taking up the pen to reply to a letter from Mr. Johnson; but I had the pleasure of experiencing so much candour and goodness in the man, that I have no fear of the eminent genius, extensive learning, accurate judgment, and every other happy talent which distinguish and complete the author.||

This is clear evidence that she knew him personally; and there is nothing to limit the period of their previous acquaintance. Mr.

Boswell, new ed. 1890, p. 20). The quotation comes later in the "testimony"—"the young woman whom he used to call Molly Aston" (Hawkins's *Johnson*, 2nd ed. 1787, p. 316). I see no real "chronological difficulties" in a statement which claims so little chronological basis.

* See *ante*, p. 72.

† See *ante*, p. 118.

‡ See *ante*, p. 120.

§ Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 20.

|| *An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson from his birth to his eleventh year, written by himself, to which are added, Original Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Miss Hill Boothby*, ed. Richard Wright, 1805, pp. 33-4.

Fitzgerald has pointed out that Miss Boothby's reference, in the same letter, to Johnson's personal acquaintance with the late Mrs. Fitzherbert (whose children she was then mothering), and to other common friends, is all against Croker's conclusion.*

I have previously pointed out the curious fact that Miss Boothby's father was second-cousin to Thomas Boothby, the great Lincolnshire fox-hunting squire, whose second wife, Elizabeth Skrymsher, was probably Johnson's first cousin: at least she was sister to that Charles Skrymsher whom Johnson claimed as "very nearly related to himself;"† while Anne Boothby Skrymsher, a granddaughter of Thomas Boothby by his first marriage, became in 1758 the wife of Hugo Meynell, a still more distinguished sportsman,‡ of whom we shall presently hear.

Littleton Poyntz Meynell,§ to whom Johnson "made frequent visits" on this occasion, died in 1751: no doubt he was the "old Meynell" whose delightful remark, super-charged with the finest essence of British insularity, was recalled by Johnson in Slaughter's Coffee House, some forty years probably after it had been uttered:—"For any thing I see, foreigners are fools."|| His seat of Bradley, where this pearl of wisdom was probably let fall, is about three miles east of Ashburne. "Old Meynell" was a county man of position, but he never enjoyed the fame of his son Hugo, M.P., the father of modern fox-hunting. It would be Hugo who impressed Boswell by another pithy saying:—"The chief advantage of London (said he) is, that a man is always so near his burrow."¶ There the foxhunter undoubtedly speaks. When Mrs. Thrale was at Ashburne, on 19 July 1774, she visited with Johnson "Mr. Meynell's Kennel which contains the most complete pack of Fox-hounds I ever yet saw."** The Rev. John Kennedy, who had been appointed Rector of Bradley in 1732, remained Johnson's friend through life.††

* *Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, by Percy Fitzgerald, 1880, pp. 111-12.

† *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 24.

‡ *Ibid.*, III., 25.

§ For a full account of the Meynells, see *post*, Appendix H., pp. 163-66.

|| Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 15.

¶ *Ibid.*, III., 379.

** "Mrs. Thrale's Diary," in *Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale*, by A. M. Broadley, 1910, p. 175.

†† See *post*, Appendix H., pp. 166-7, 193.

"Mr. Meynell's eldest daughter," of whom Johnson is said to have spoken with such admiration, was Mary, who married his friend William Fitzherbert in 1744.* On her death in 1753, Miss Hill Boothby, who was distantly connected with the Fitzherberts, acted as mother to his children.† William Fitzherbert lived at Tissington, some four miles north of Ashburne, where his family had long been settled. To Tissington, about eighteen months after Johnson's visit, came Richard Graves, to act as private chaplain at the Hall, as well as Curate-in-Charge of the church, and to gain those impressions of members of the Fitzherbert family and their friends that he afterwards used in his *Spiritual Quixote*, to "skit" the methodists.‡

Thomas Lawrence, the distinguished physician, whose daughter communicated to Boswell the anonymous "lady's" account of Johnson's stay at Ashburne, was at Oxford contemporaneously with Johnson, at Trinity College, but they did not meet till years afterwards, when introduced by Dr. Bathurst. He was London born, but Frances his wife, whom he married in 1744, was a daughter of Dr. William Chauncy, who practised at Ashburne and Derby. It is probable that the "lady" was one of the Chauncy family, and I had hoped to discover the dates she gives—"the end of the year 37, and the middle of the year 40"—to be those of domestic events in her memory. I have not quite succeeded, though Dr. William Chauncy died at the end of 1736, and his mother early in 1740.§

Strange it seems, that this quiet Derbyshire countryside, made for us all the more thoroughly English by the memories it holds of the massively insular Johnson, should have been invaded only about a quarter-of-a-century later by the *bizarre* figure of Jean Jacques Rousseau, alien in race, alien in appearance, alien in intellect, and alien in character. "One of the worst of men; a rascal who ought to be hunted out of society," was Johnson's vigorous description of him on 15 February 1766, to Boswell, who had tactlessly cultivated the

* See *post*, Appendix J., and Anderson's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, 3rd ed. 1815, p. 208. As the lady anecdotist, recounting Johnson's visit to Ashburne, says that this marriage took place "afterwards," we have here another buttress to her chronology.

† *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 262, where I assumed actual cousinship.

‡ See *post*, Appendix J., p. 176-8.

§ See *post*, Appendix K., p. 179-85.

philosopher's society abroad.* Rousseau's stay at Wootton, which is only about five miles west of Ashburne, lasted from the beginning of 1766 till April 1767, a period he occupied in astonishing the natives by his manner and dress, and by his insane suspicions; and in antagonising those who earnestly sought to befriend him—in short, proving himself the perfect philosopher. Sir Brooke Boothby, the nephew of Miss Hill Boothby, was Rousseau's devoted admirer, and as a young man staying at Marseilles corresponded with him while at Wootton.†

* * * *

This country tour, for all practical purposes, marks the close of Johnson's connexion with the provinces. Up to this time we have seen him keeping pretty closely in touch with Lichfield, and with the scenes of his early life. We have seen him from time to time making an effort, if against his real inclinations, to establish himself as a country schoolmaster; and we have seen him fail in this purpose, at Stourbridge, at Market Bosworth, at Ashburne, at Solihull, at Edial, at Brewood, and at Appleby, all places within his natural sphere of influence, where he had kinsfolk, or friends, or patrons, who knew his origins. We have seen him assisting his bookseller friend, Thomas Warren, at Birmingham, and spending considerable periods in his mother's house at Lichfield,

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, II., 11-12.

† See Mary Teresa Fortescue's *History of Calwich Abbey*, pp. 119-30; *Correspondance Générale de J.-J. Rousseau*, [ed.] Théophile Dufour, Paris, XV., 9, XVI., 184-5, 261-3; *Correspondance de Jean-Jacques Rousseau et François Coindet* [1756-68], Genève, 1922, pp. 103, 108, 115; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. Rousseau; *Highways and Byways in Derbyshire*, by J. B. Firth, 1905, p. 63; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under Sir Brooke Boothby. The editor of *Correspondance de Rousseau et Coindet* (p. 103) gives "Richard Davenport (1705?-1771), propriétaire foncier, marié à la fille d'un marchand de la Cité," as "l'hôte de Rousseau à Wootton." This enthusiastic disciple of Rousseau was Richard Davenport, of Davenport and Calvey, in Cheshire, and Wootton Hall, co. Derby, who was burd. at Bunbury, in Cheshire, on 19 May 1771, only son of George Davenport, of Calvey, Sheriff of Cheshire in 1722, by Bridget, dau. of Edward Mainwaring, of Whitmore, co. Salop: his wife was Phœbe, dau. of Joseph Bagnal, of Roehampton. His youngest dau. and coheir, Phœbe, married Davies Davenport, of Capesthorpe, in Cheshire, and ancestored the present Bromley-Davenports, of Capesthorpe and Wootton (Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, II., 286). Richard Davenport let Wootton Hall to Rousseau at a nominal rent: he was not his actual host. I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Ward for the French references.

It is remarkable that though Johnson frequently stayed at Ashburne, with his friend Taylor, from as early as 1769 (*Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 155), we never hear a word spoken in their circle of Rousseau's recent visit to the neighbourhood, though it must have been familiar knowledge to them all.

possibly assisting at times in the conduct of the business. But when he came back to London in 1740 from "the rambles upon which he had been forced," so far as we know he never left it again with any idea but of returning. He never apparently revisited Lichfield again until he had become famous—not even for his mother's funeral in 1759.* London absorbed him, and the countryside that had bred his rugged character, though it held ever an affectionate place in his memory, ceased to exert any direct influence on his life.

* Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 514. Benjamin West, in 1798, spoke of having heard Johnson, at The Club, describe his feelings at visiting Lichfield, "after a space of 40 years absence" (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, I., 131). This is an exaggeration, but points to the length of the period. Mr. Fitzgerald has endeavoured to controvert Croker's conclusion that Johnson had not visited his mother for "twenty years," in spite of having found time to visit other places, by retorting that "these very visits on pleasure, prove, in the case of a conscientious man like Johnson, that where duty required he was likely to obey" (*Croker's Boswell and Boswell*, 1880, p. 123). This is begging the question with a vengeance!

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

JOHNSON'S MARRIAGE LICENCE

(See *ante*, p. 22)

THE original bond entered into by Johnson for his marriage to Mrs. Porter was presented to the Johnson Society of Lichfield by Mr. Hubert C. Hodson, the Diocesan Registrar, on 15 September 1919, and is now on exhibition in the Birthplace. The following is a full copy of the document:—

Know all men by these Presents That We Samuel Johnson of the Parish of St. Mary in Lichfield, in the County of Stafford, Gentleman, And Charles Howard, living in the Close in Lichfield aforesaid, Gentleman and Proctor, are held and firmly bound unto Richard Rider, Esqr., Bachelor of Laws, Vicar General of Richard Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the sum of £100 of good & lawful money of Great Britain, To be paid unto the said Richard Rider or to his Certain Attorney, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, To which Payment, well and truly made, We oblige ourselves; and each of us by himself for the whole, our and each of our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, firmly by these Presents, sealed with our Seals. Dated the eighth Day of July in the ninth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, & so forth, And in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred & thirty five.

The Condition of the above-written Obligation is such, That if there shall not hereafter appear any lawful Let or Impediment, by reason of any Pre-Contract, Consanguinity, Affinity, or any other just cause Whatsoever; but that Samuel Johnson, of the Parish of St. Mary in Lichfield, in the County of Stafford, Bachelor, Aged twenty five Years, Gentleman, and Elizabeth Porter, of the Parish of St. Philip, in Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, widow, aged forty years, may lawfully marry together; And that there is not any Suit depending before any Judge Ecclesiastical or Civil, for or concerning any such Pre-Contract; And that the Consent of the Parents, or others the Governors of the said Parties, be thereunto first had and obtain'd; And that they cause their said Marriage to be openly solemnized in the Face of the Parish Church of Saint Philip in Birmingham, or St. Werburgh in Derby, between the Hours of Eight and Twelve of the Clock in the Forenoon; and do and shall save harmless and keep indemnified the abovenam'd Richard Rider, his Surrogates, and all other his Officers,

Successors in Office, for and concerning the Premises: Then the said Obligation to be void; or else to be and remain in full Force and Vertue.

Sealed and Delivered (being first
duly stamped) in the Presence of
GEO. PYECRAFT
WILLIAM LOCKETT.

SAM JOHNSON
CHAR: HOWARD.

(Endorsement on the reverse side)

Derby the Eighth day of July 1735.

Which Day appeared personally Samuel Johnson, of the Parish of St. Mary in Lichfield, in the County of Stafford, Bachelor, aged twenty five years, Gentleman, And prayed a Licence to be granted to him for the Solemnization of a Marriage with Elizabeth Porter, of the Parish of St. Philip in Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, widow, aged forty Years, in the Parish Church of St. Philip in Birmingham aforesaid, or St. Werburgh in Derby.

The said Samuel Johnson was then duly sworn
and the Licence was Decreed by me

WILLIAM LOCKETT, Surrogate.

APPENDIX B. THE HAMMONDS OF LICHFIELD AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH EDIAL

(See ante, p. 38)

IN *The Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 229, and *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, I., 12-13; III., 55, 67, 69; and IV., 134, 137, 142, 145, I have already printed some information about Mrs. Cobb and her Hammond relatives. These references mostly concern Richard Hammond, the father of Mrs. Cobb and Mrs. Adey, and the question of their exact relationship to Thomas Hammond, the owner of Edial Hall, which has only recently been solved through discovering that the Hammonds were not natives of Lichfield but came from Derby. Their connexion with Lichfield was only through their Allen forbears on the distaff side. I am inclined to the belief that they were not natives even of Derby, for a quick search through the marriage registers of four churches there, St. Alkmund's, St. Peter's, All Saints'

and St. Werburgh's (*Derbyshire Parish Registers*, ed. Phillimore, vols. IV., VI., IX. and X.), disclosed only one Hammond marriage from 1630 to 1700, and that was the marriage of Gilbert Ward to a Jane Hammond at St. Werburgh's on 25 Aug. 1639. Perhaps a clue to their origin lies in the fact that John Chambers, a substantial resident of Derby, married Hannah, daughter of "Mr. Thomas Hamond of London, Merchant," she dying 16 Feb. 1688/9, aged 82 (*Chronicles of All Saints, Derby*, by J. C. Cox and W. H. St John Hope, 1881, p. 151). The following will abstracts form the principal basis for the pedigree:—

JOHN ALLEN, of Lichfield, gent. Will dated 5 Oct. 1647. To my son, *John Allen*, my house in Wadestreete, which is of the King's land, or £10, whichever my son *James* likes best, and £100, and two featherbeds, coverlets and sheets. To my grandchild, *Thomas Salisbury*, £10 at end of his apprenticeship. Resid. legatee and exor., my son, *James Allen*. Signed, *John Allen*. Wits., *Thomas Greene*, *Thomas Pidcocke* and *Rob. Ellyott*. Proved 10 Feb. 1647/8, in P.C.C. (Essex, 39), by the exor. named.

THOMAS HAMMOND, late of Derby, co. Derby, decd. Admon. granted 23 Sept. 1661, at Lichfield, to *James Allen*, of the city of Lichfield, gent., the grandfather of *Thomas*, *James*, *Sarah* and *Dorothy*, children of decd. Bond by *James Allen* for £300.

JAMES ALLEN, of Lichfield, co. Staffs., gent. Will dated 11 Mch. 1671/2. By my deed of 2 May 1667 I assigned to *Thomas Orrell*, of Packington, co. Staffs., gent., and *Thomas Ward*, of Shenstone, co. Staffs., gent., my message and dwelling, garden, lands, etc. ("as in deed;" no locality given), to the use of my wife *Hester*, and the uses of my will, and now, after her death, I bequeath same to my grandchild, *Thomas Hamond*. To my wife, the house in Tamworth Street, Lichfield, wherein I now dwell, and all the furniture, she keeping either *Dorothy* or *Sarah Hamond* in diet and lodging, and I also give her the red bed and the furniture thereunto belonging standing in my chamber over the parlour, or £13-6-4, which she prefers. To my nephew [*i.e.*, grandson], *James Hamond*, the college lease at Derby, and the houses, etc., contained in said leases, and £300, at his age of 26, also £20 a year. To my niece [*i.e.*, granddau.], *Sarah Hamond*, £500 at age of 23, or marriage with consent of *John Dalton*, of Derby, gent., and *Samuel Doughty*, gent. To my niece [*i.e.*, granddau.], *Dorothy Hamond*, £500 on like conditions. To the poor people in Tamworth Street and Greenhill, Lichfield, £5, and to other poor in said city, £5. To my said nephew [*i.e.*, grandson], *Thomas Hamond*, all other my messuages and lands in Lichfield or elsewhere, to him and his heirs for ever, my house in Marlboro', co. Wilts., and a messuage in Winchester, co. Hants., which I had by a judgment of £165 granted me by *Edward Hancock*. Whereas I administered the goods of *Sarah Hamond*, decd.,

mother of the said *Thomas, James, Sarah* and *Dorothy Hamond*, my exor. shall be acquitted of any liability regarding same. To my cousin, Richard Copestake, £6. Resid. legatee and exor., the said *Thomas Hamond*. Signed, *James Allen*. Wits., *Thomas Bromley, Ellen Lyndon* and *Rich. Warde*. Proved 3 June 1674, in P.C.C. (Bunce, 68), by the exor. named.

THOMAS HAMOND, of Edyall, co. Staffs., gent. Will dated 22 July 1702. To my son, *Thomas Hamond*, "All that my Capitall messuage or Tenement in Edjall aforesaid wherein I now dwell together with all Gardens Orchards Barnes Stables and Outhouses thereunto belonging And all those pieces of Ground therewith used and enjoyed called Hansoms peice Twyfordes peice Bowmans peice The 2 Hob Crofts the 2 peices purchased of *Richard Lowe* and Lying before my said Capital Messuage Churchleys peice Mosse Field 3 peices purchased of one *Bowman* and abutting on certaine peices of Ground of mine called the Knaves Hay and the Kinsells and Scituate lyeing and being in Edjall and Woodhousen in the said County of Stafford;" also two acres in Burrow Copp Field in Lichfield, four acres in another open field of said city called Bowley Bottom, three acres in another open field there called Crosse Field, to him and his heirs for ever, he paying my debts and legacies. To said son *Thomas Hamond*, my leasehold estate of the Parsonage House, barn and tithes of Handsaker and Ermitage, co. Staffs., the tithes of the parish of Norton and Wyrley, in said co., and the tithes of Hintsey *alias* Hints, in said co., all which tithes I hold under leases for three lives from *Mr. Laughton*, the present Prebendary of Handsaker in Lichfield Cathedral; also my leasehold estate in possession of *William Hall, John Hall* his son, and *Thomas Gregg*, held by lease for three lives from the Vicars Choral of said Cathedral, situate in Chesterfield and elsewhere in par. of Shenston, co. Staffs., and my leasehold estate consisting of one barn and six pieces of land containing by estimation fifty-five acres, and tithe free, called Austins Coate Grounds, lying in constablewick of Streethay and in or near the city of Lichfield, together with one dole or piece of meadow ground lying in a common meadow called Williford Meadow, in co. Staffs., and held by me for three lives from *John Hutchinson*, Prebendary of Tarvin in said Cathedral; also my leasehold estate for three lives granted by Master of the Hospital of St. John in said city, consisting of one house in Sandford Street, in occ. of *Joseph Whitehead*, another house in Greenhill, and 2 pieces of ground called the Moggs, containing 6 acres, abutting on a piece of ground called Pool Furlong, and in occ. of *Mr. Hawkes*; and my other leasehold estate consisting of one barn and a croft containing one acre, lying in a place called Rotten Rowe, in said city, in possession of *Thomas Deakin*, held by lease for three lives from said Vicars Choral. To my wife (*not named*) an annuity of £100 out of said lands, also "my Coach and such two of my horses as she shall make choice of," and the furniture of her chamber. To my son, *Gilbert Hamond*, the sum of £500, chargeable on said lands, payable within seven years from date hereof, my wife out of her said annuity to provide necessities for my son *Gilbert*, not exceeding £20 in any one year, until legacy becomes payable. Whereas my brother, *James Hamond*, had an annuity of £20 granted to him by my grandfather *Allen*, decd.,

and chargeable on said leasehold premises granted by Prebend of Handsaker, I order same to be paid to my said brother by my exor., as heretofore. Residue to said son, *Thomas Hamond*, and appoint him exor., and appoint *Sir Robert Burdett*, of Bromcott, bart., and my brother-in-law, *Gilbert Thacker*, esq., guardians to my said son during his infancy and nonage. Signed, *Tho. Hammond*. Wits., *Hum: Repton*, *Elizab. Shepherd* and *Christopher Thompson*. Inventory dated 12 Sept. 1702: total, £354-10-0. Appraisers, *Richard Burnes* and *Samuel Moseley*. Proved 28 Sept. 1702, at Lichfield, by the sole exor.

ALLEN HAMMOND, Rector of Stanton. Will dated 22 July 1722. To my wife, *Frances Hammond*, all my estate, of what kind soever, to be disposed of at such times and in such proportions as she shall think fit to the children of our bodies lawfully begotten, viz., *Dorothy Hammond*, *John Hammond*, *Mary Hammond*, *Katherine Hammond* and *Frances Hammond*. Extrix., wife, *Frances Hammond*. Signed, *Allen Hammond*. Wits., *Henry Noton*, *Saml. Sims* and *Dorothy Jackson*. Proved at Derby (Lichfield) 19 Oct. 1722, by *Frances Hammond*, the sole extrix., for the tuition of *Dorothy*, *John*, *Mary*, *Ann*, *Catherine* and *Frances*. Sureties, *Robt. Holden*, of Weston-on-Trent, and *Thomas Everard*, of Hartshorn, both in co. Derby.

FRANCES HAMMOND, of Derby, co. Derby, widow. Will dated 29 Aug. 1722. To my dau., *Dorothy Hammond*, the best bed, with the furniture thereto, the tea table and all belonging to it, castors, diamond ring and certain linen. To my son, *John Hammond*, my silver tankard, broad piece of gold and certain linen. To my dau., *Mary Hammond*, my silver cup, a broad piece of gold, wedding ring, etc. To my dau., *Anne Hammond*, three silver spoons, a broad piece of gold, amethyst ring and certain linen. To my dau., *Katherine Hammond*, three silver spoons, ruby ring, a broad piece of gold and some linen. To my dau., *Frances Hammond*, the best broad piece of gold, three silver spoons and two mourning rings. The residue of my linen to be divided amongst my children equally. Residue to said children, at 21 or marriage. My mother, *Dorothy Jackson*, to have the custody, tuition and patronage of my children, and I make her sole extrix, of this my will, and I desire *Robert Holden*, of Weston-upon-Trent, co. Derby, clerk, and *Henry Noton*, of Swarkeston, to be my overseers. Signed, *Frs. Hammond*. Wits., *W. Jackson*, *Rachel Huntingdon* and *Dorothy Jackson*. Admon., with will, granted 1 Oct. 1723, at Lichfield, to *Robert Holden*, of Weston-on-Trent, clerk, and *Henry Noton*, of Swarkeston, gent. (both admors. were nominated by *John* and *Ann*, children of decd., but the document is so illegible that the reason for this cannot be made out: possibly testator's mother was too infirm to act, or had died in the meantime).

FETTIPLACE NOTT, serjeant-at-law, late of Marston Hall, par. of Bickenhill, co. Warw., decd. Admon. granted 20 May 1726, in P.C.C. (Admon. Act Book), to *Fettiplace Nott*, Esq., son of decd., *Sarah Nott*, widow and relict, renouncing.

RICHARD HAMMOND, of the city of Lichfield, apothecary. Will dated 11 Feb. 1728/9. To my two daus., *Felicia* and *Mary*, £500 each at 21, and the

interest thereof to be devoted to their education as my wife *Felicia* thinks best, and I appoint her their sole guardian. All my freehold and leasehold messuages, etc., in the city of Lichfield, to my wife *Felicia* for life, and then to my said two daus. Residue to said wife *Felicia* for life, and then to said daus. Exors., my said wife and the Rev. Mr. *William Foden*, my brother-in-law. Wits., *Sarah Dey*, *Step. Simpson* and *Jane Simpson*. Proved 5 Feb. 1741¹/₂, at Lichfield, by *Felicia Hammond*, the other exor. renouncing in presence of *Rich. Read* and *K. Billin*. Admon. *de bonis non* granted 1 Sept. 1760, at Lichfield, to *Mary Hammond*, of the city of Lichfield, spinster, the dau. of decd. Surety, *Joseph Adey*, of the city of Lichfield, gent.

WILLIAM FODEN, of Easton, co. Northants., clerk. Will dated 17 Oct. 1748. To be burd. at Margaret Overton, co. Rutland, near my late wife, with a plain stone over my grave and a small monument against the wall. All my lands and tenements at Mear, Mear Way, Rewl Park, in Gnosall and Bradeley, co. Staffs., as to one half to my sister, *Felicia Hammond*, widow, for life, and the other half to my sister, *Elizabeth Billing*, widow, for life, and after their deaths to my nephew, *Joseph Adey*, of Lichfield, gent., and his heirs, in trust for his son, *William Adey*, and his heirs for ever, he paying, twelve months after the death of the survivor of my two sisters, £300 to *Francis Moss*, of Wolverhampton, he to discharge the encumbrances upon his estate and settle same on his wife and family; if he refuse, then the interest of same to his wife for life and her children, and chargeable also with £500 for the said *Joseph Adey's* younger child or children, and also with £500 to the Rev. *Caleb Parnham*, Rector of Ufford, co. Northants., clerk, and *Richard Reid*, of Chatteris, Isle of Ely, esq.,* and *Katherina* his wife, for the use of the younger child or children of said *Richard* and *Katherina Reid*. To my cousin, *Mrs. Wingfield*, and her two sons and three daus., ten guineas each.† To my late servant, *Eliz. Cummins*, 10 guineas. The pictures of myself and my late wife to my niece, *Katherina Reid*. My collection of books to my godson, *William Adey*. All my clothes to my servant, *Robert Adams*. Resid. legatee and extrix., my niece, *Mary Hammond*. Signed, *Wm. Foden*. Wits., *John Jackson*, *William Prentice* and *Danl. Yorke*. Proved 10 June 1758, in P.C.C. (Hutton, 185), by *Mary Hammond*, spinster, the extrix.

FETTIPLACE NOTT, of Lichfield, Esq. Will dated 27th Nov., 1773. To my wife, *Anna Catharina Nott*, £160 a year, and £40 a year more out of my capital messuage called Edjall Hall, and all other my lands, etc., in co. Stafford. To my dau., *Sarah Nott*, £3000. To my said wife £100, and to my son, *Fettiplace Nott*, £50, and to my dau. *Sarah Nott*, £50. To my said dau. a further £40 a year, my pair of diamond earrings, my spinet and best cabinet, and the gold

* Richard Read died at Chatteris, in the Isle of Ely, on 12 Nov. 1763 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1763, p. 565).

† Mary (bapt. 12 Apl. 1677), younger dau. of John Wingfield, of Tickencote, co. Rutland, mard. the Rev. "John" Foden (evidently this William). The widow of her brother, John Wingfield, at this date had two sons and three daus. surviving (see *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 1853, II., 1614-15).

watch now in her possession. To the poor of Bickenhill, co. Warw., £5. To the poor of St. Mary, Lichfield, £5. To my wife for life the use of my furniture, and my messuages and lands in Edjall and Pipe, co. Stafford. Whereas *Matthew Horbery*, D.D., Prebendary of Hansacre, by indenture bearing date 24 June 1770, demised to me for 21 years a prebend house in Bacon Street, Lichfield, and whereas some years ago *John Levett*, of Wichnor, co. Stafford, esq., demised to me two acres of land in Woodhouse Field at Edjall and Woodhouses, and whereas my son *Fettiplace* has contracted many debts, many as appears to me by gross fraud and imposition on the part of the persons claiming, I therefore bequeath the aforesaid lands, etc., to *John Levett*, of Wichnor, co. Stafford, esq., and *William Sadler*, of Castle Bromwich, co. Warw., gent., and also Edjall Hall and lands in Edjall and Pipe cum membris, in trust to pay the above legacies, and the residue for my said son. To be burd. in Bickenhill church, near my father and mother. Exors., my said trustees. Signed, *Fettiplace Nott*. Wits., *Anne Arden*, *Fras. Robinson* and *Robt. Beaumont*. Proved 25 Sept. 1775, in P.C.C. (Alexander, 354), by the exors.

SARAH FAUSSETT, wife of *Henry Godfrey Faussett*, of Heppington, co. Kent, esq. Will dated 9 Feb. 1799. By articles of agreement bearing date 10 Jan. 1798, made previous to my marriage, I am empowered to dispose of all my estate. To Mrs. *Joanna Gillis*, late of Brussels in Flanders, now of Calais, France, sometime called Mrs. *Newman*, £60 a year to be paid her during life of my husband and until the youngest of the two natural daus. of my brother, *Fettiplace Nott*, decd., namely *Elizabeth Nelthorpe Newman*, aged about 13, and *Sarah Nelthorpe Newman*, aged about 12, born of the body of the said *Joanna Gillis*, attains the age of 21, the said two girls being baptised at and now or late resident at Calais. To the said *Joanna Gillis* also a further £30 a year from the time of the death of my said husband, or when the said youngest child attains the age of 21, for her life. After the death of my said husband, at their ages of 21, I give the said *Elizabeth* and *Sarah Nelthorpe Newman* £1000 each. To *Frederick Louis Nelthorpe Newman*, aged 18, natural son of my said brother, *Fettiplace Nott*, by the said *Joanna Gillis*, baptised at Brussels or Antwerp, and now a Lieutenant in H.M. 11th Regt. of Foot, £50 a year to enable him to be raised to the rank of Captain, and at his lawful age £1500. To Major General *Richard Vyse*, of Stoke near Windsor, and *Thomas Hinckley*, of Lichfield, esq., and their heirs, my manor or reputed manor of Wavers Marston, par. of Bicknell, co. Warw., and my lands and tenements there, and in Marston Culey, Church Bicknell and Bicknell, and my copyhold lands in the manor of Hampton in Arden, co. Warw., in trust to pay the annuities aforesaid, and the lands, etc., to the use of the said *Frederick*, in tail male, in default to his daus. and their heirs, in default to Rev. *Hugh Bailye*, of Hanbury, co. Stafford, for life, and then to use of said *Elizabeth* and *Sarah Nelthorpe Newman*. Exors., my said trustees. Signed, *Sarah Faussett*. Wits., *John Jacob*, of Nackington, *Anna Maria Jacob* and *Frances Mason*. Codicil dated 3 Jan. 1808. I, *Sarah*, wife of *Henry Godfrey Faussett*, formerly *Sarah Nott*, spinster, declare that *Sophia Nelthorpe Newman*, spinster, since making my will married to *Mr. Lejune*, of Calais, is the person intended by the

description in my will of *Elizabeth Nelthorpe Newman*, and I confirm to her the said legacies. Wits., *Eliza Faussett*, *Anne Faussett* and *Susan Faussett*. Codicil dated 23 Jan. 1814, *re* mortgage of property. Wits., *Anna Maria Hesleden*, *Catharina Helena Faussett* and *Thomas Wickham*. Codicil dated 28 Jan. 1814. In place of Major General *Richard Vyse* I appoint as trustee the Rev. *Hugh Bailye*, of Hanbury, co. Stafford. Wits., *Eliza Faussett*, *Susan Faussett* and *Harriet Mather*. Codicil dated 9 Feb. 1814. I bequeath to *Frederick Louis Newman*, now a Lieut. Colonel in H.M. 11th Regt. of Foot, all my plate, pearls, watches, pictures and trinkets. To Mrs. *Sophia L'Jeune*, wife of *Mr. L'Jeune*, late of Calais, my diamond ring with the letters *ff.N.* upon it, and a miniature picture of her brother, *Frederick L. Newman*, also a pearl ring, a small diamond brooch; and to her sister, *Sarah Newman*, living with her, one doz. silver desert spoons, with the letters *S.N.* on them, a bracelet and necklace, earrings, and the "profile" of her brother, *F. L. Newman*. To my friend, the Rev. *Hugh Bailye*, of Hanbury afsd., my cluster diamond ring, thinking he will value it as having been worn by my dear father. Wits., *Harriet Mathers*, *Frances Sophia Gase* and *Thomas Wickham*. Codicil dated 11 Feb. 1814. Further legacy to *Sarah Nelthorpe Newman*, illegitimate dau. of my late brother, *Fetiplace Nott*. Wits., *Eliza Faussett*, *Anne Faussett* and *Susan Faussett*. Proved 31 Oct. 1816, in P.C.C. (Wynne, 517), by *Thomas Hinckley*, esq., as far as concerns £2000 of her estate, power reserved to *Richard Vyse*, esq.

The following entries relating to the name were most of them extracted from the registers of St. Mary's, Lichfield, by Mr. Laithwaite, who kindly searched from 1650 to 1720 (*entries in italics not connected*).—

1658. Nov. 24. mard. James Allen, gent., & Mrs. Hester Pyot d. of Richard Pyot Esq.
 1675. July 21. bapt. Hester dau. of Mr. James Hamond.
 1677. Nov. 4. bapt. Sarah dau. of Mr. Thomas Hamond.
 1677. Dec. 6. bapt. James Hammond sonne of Mr. James Hamond.
 1678/9. Jan. 29. bapt. Richard sonne of Mr. James Hammon.
 1680. Oct. 13. bapt. Thomas sonn of Mr. James Hamond.
 1682/3. Mch. 17. bapt. Michael sonn of Mr. James Heamond.
 1683/4. Jan. 10. bapt. Tho: sonn of Tho: Hamond Gen:
 1685. June 18. bapt. Mary Daugh: of Mr. James Hammond.
 1688. Aug. 16. bapt. Sarah Dau. of James Heamond gent.
 1692. Oct. 26. bapt. John son of John Bond alias Hemond.
 1693. Aug. 26. bapt. Barberah Da: of Mr. James Hammond.
 1698. Aug. . . . bapt. Eliza Dau: of Jno. Hammand alias Bond.
 1704. Oct. 16. mard. Tho: Hamand & Mary Hunter at Hambse [*Hammerwich*] Chapel.
 1705. May 20. bapt. Eliza d. of Jno. Bond alias Hamond.
 1705. Nov. 6. bapt. Elizabeth d. of Thomas Heamond, furrier.

- 1706/7. Jan. 2. bapt. *Mary d. of Thomas Hamond, furrier.*
 1708. Dec. 7. bapt. *Stephen son of John Heamond.*
 1711. Nov. 25. bapt. *Edward son of John Hammond.*
 1712. Apl. 30. bapt. *Felicia Daugh: Mr. Richd. Hammond.*
 1715. . . 4. mard. *John Sole & Sarah Hammond.*
 1718. Apl. 16. bapt. *Mary Dau: Mr. Richd. Hammond.*
 1760. Dec. 18. mard. *Mr. Thomas Cobb & Mrs. Mary Hammond, both this par., lic. Wits., Jos. Adey and Tho. Hincks.*
 1780. Feb. 20. mard. *William Hammond, of Wellbrough, Northants., & Hannah Thropp, this par., lic.*

Most of the entries that follow, from the registers of St. Michael's, Lichfield, I also owe to Mr. Laithwaite, who in this case searched to the end of 1725:—

1658. Nov. 24. mard. *Mr. James Allen & Mistress Hester Pyott.*
 1673/4. Mch. 11. burd. *Mr. James Allen Magistrate.*
 1697. June 8. burd. *Michael y^e son of Mr. James Hammond.*
 1702. Aug. 16. burd. *Mr. Thomas Hammond Esquire.*
 1703. July 16. burd. *Mr. Gilbert Hamond Edghill.*
 1710. Mch. 28. burd. *Mrs. Mary Hamond wife of Mr. James Hamond.*
 1713/4. Jan. 1. mard. *William Hamond & Mary Shapard.*
 1715. June 16. bapt. *Elizabeth daughter of William Hamond.*
 1716. June 18. burd. *Francis daughter of Allen Hamond.*
 1724. Mch. 27. burd. *Mary y^e wife of William Hammon.*
 1738/9. Mch. 3. burd. *Mr. Richard Hammond.*
 1739. Apl. 22. mard. *Mr. Joseph Adye & Felicia Hammond.*

Mr. Laithwaite could find no Hammond entry in the registers of St. Chad's, Lichfield, about this period.

The following abstract of a Chancery suit not only throws light on the Hammond family, but also shews that Sir John Floyer, the eminent Lichfield physician (see *ante*, III., 10, 19, 61, 66, 115; V., 105), contracted a second marriage of which the genealogists seem to have been ignorant:—

GIRDLER *v.* HAMMOND, 27 May 1711. Complaint by *Joseph Girdler*, of Haselour, co. Staffs., Sergeant at Law, that *Thomas Hammond*, of Edjall, co. Staffs., gent., son and heir of *Thomas Hammond*, late of Edjall and formerly of Lichfield, gent., decd., having occasion for money to pay a debt to *Sir John Floyer* and *Dame Margaret* his wife (lately called *Margaret Hill*), applied to complainant for the loan of £1500, proposing to mortgage certain lands to him, and by indenture bearing date 13 July 1706 made between *Sir John Floyer*, of Lichfield, knt., and *Dame Margaret* his wife, of the 1st part, *Fettiplace Nott*,

of the Inner Temple, London, Esq., of the 2nd part, the said *Thomas Hammond*, the son, of the 3rd part, the said *Joseph Girdler*, of the 4th part, and *Edward Girdler*, of the Inner Temple, gent., of the 5th part, the said *Sir John Floyer* and *Margaret* assigned to complainant three several terms of 99 years, and all their right in a messuage in Lichfield, where the said *Hammond*, the father, lately dwelt, a barn and garden in Baker Lane there, a messuage in Tamworth Street, three messuages in Greenhill Street, a barn in Rotten Row, in Lichfield, and land in Leetfield, in Horselade, in Burrowcopp, in Ling Furlong, in Spearhill, in Wishedge, land called Leefield, and land in Bolyfield, and other pieces of land (specified and boundaries given), some of which were the jointure of *Hester Allen*, widow, which said three terms by indenture of lease and release bearing date 17 and 18 Sept. 1678, made between *Thomas Hammond*, the father, of one part, and *John Wollaston* and *Edward Byrche*, Esq., of the other part, made on the marriage of said *Thomas Hammond* with *Beatrice Wollaston*, then lately had, settling the same on said *Thomas* and *Beatrice* for their lives, with remainder to their issue male, and in default to said *Wollaston* and *Byrch*, and, as to the others, to them after the death of *Hester Allen*, widow, and of *Thomas Hammond* without male issue, with a portion of £1000 to a dau. of *Thomas Hammond*. The said *Beatrice* died without male issue, leaving only one dau., who married the said *Fettiplace Nott*, who by indenture dated 22 Dec. 1703 assigned the said term to *Dame Margaret Floyer*, then unmarried, by the name of *Margaret Hill*, spinster. The said *Hammond* has failed to pay the principal money of £1500, and also interest thereon, and complainant desires that he may be caused to pay the same, and to appear to answer the premises (C.P. before 1714, Bridges, 607/122).

Sir John Floyer's first wife, the only one recorded in the pedigrees, was Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Archbold, Knt., Chancellor of the Diocese of Lichfield; and the celebrated Lord Chesterfield's younger sister, Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, afterwards wife of Samuel Hill, of Shenstone Park, is said to have been educated "with" her. This first Lady Floyer, who left issue by Sir John, had been previously married to Fleetwood, "son to the B^p of Worcester" (Shaw's *Staffordshire*, II., 49; *William Salt Archæological Soc.*, "Staffordshire Collections," vol. V., part 2, p. 132; *Harleian Soc.*, vol. 63, "Staffordshire Pedigrees," p. 91). James Fleetwood [1603-83], Bishop of Worcester, had two sons, Arthur, and John, who became Archdeacon of Worcester (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). There was an Arthur Fleetwood, of Lichfield, with a son Henry, born about 1667 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*): no doubt he was Lady Floyer's first husband.

The Lichfield census of 1695 (see *ante*, III., 18) includes the two following households in Tamworth Street:—

Tho: Hammond Gent. reputed 46.

Jane his wife 38 { daur. of Mr. Thacker
of Repton in Derbysh:*

Tho: 10 } y^r sons
Gilbert 8 } { by his 1st wife
Sarah 18 y^r Daught^r } { y^e Daur. of
Mr. Wollaston
of Walsall.*

Ralph Burrows
35 }
Batchelor 25 years } 00-01-00

John Wright 9
Eliz. Hall 20
Eliz. Birch 19
Margery Holmes 22 18 (*sic*) } serv^{ts}.

James Hammond Gent. reputed 43

Mary his wife 45

Tho: 13 }
Mich: 12 } Sons
Dixsey 5 }

Mary 8 }
Sarah 6 } Daught^{rs}.
Barbara 3 }

Ann Millington, serv^t, 20 odd.

The same census shews that Richard Hammond [1679-1739], the third son of James Hammond of Tamworth Street, was at this time living as apprentice, aged 16, with Richard Burnes, at his house in Market Street (see *ante*, III., p. 69).

Mr. Laithwaite has been good enough to give me some information gleaned from the records of the Conduit Lands Trust at Lichfield. The trust deed was renewed every twenty or twenty-one years, and the names of the new trustees given therein. Thus on 4 May 1680, Thomas Hammond, of Edial, appears as a new trustee, and on 5 March 1700 he is cited as one of the three surviving trustees. And on this latter date Thomas Hammond, junior, of Eddyall, in the parish of St. Michael, is included among the newly elected. On 19 April 1720

* Added in a different hand.

Thomas Hammond is one of the survivors, and Richard Hammond, "an apothecary," a new trustee. In the trust deed of 1741 neither of the Hammonds is mentioned: Richard we know died in 1739, and Thomas had also evidently died.

From the Proceedings of the Burgess Jury Mr. Laithwaite also gleaned the following entries:—

- 6 June 1727. They present "Mr. Richard Hammond for encroaching upon the road by his fence adjoining to the falseway [*i.e.*, Fosseway, a continuation of Shortbutts Lane] and setting his quicksetts beyond the antient fence And amerce him 1/-," etc.
- 25 July 1727. "Mr. Rich. Hamand for severall Incroachments upon the Lds. Inclosure in Short Butts And lay a paine of 39s. 11d. upon him if he does not throw open the same in three weeks after the date hereof" (the maximum fine inflicted).
- 7 June 1748. "The Steps belonging to the House in possession of Mrs. Hamond, in Bird Street", declared an encroachment and a fine of 2d. levied.

In the "Court of Record" cases, Mr. Laithwaite adds, there are numerous actions involving both "Jacobus Hamond" and "Thoma Hamond," including at least a dozen between 1700 and 1705.

From Harwood's *Lichfield* I learn (pp. 425-8) that John Allen was Sheriff in 1630, Junior Bailiff in 1635, and Senior Bailiff in 1644; while James Allen was Junior Bailiff in 1641, and Senior Bailiff in 1648, in 1658, in 1663 (elected in stead of Alexander Ward, who died), and in 1668. Also (p. 429) that Thomas Hammond was Junior Bailiff in 1679, and Senior Bailiff in 1685; that (pp. 348, 349, 429) Thomas Hammond, Esq., was sworn first Mayor on 14 July 1686, under a new charter, which also constituted him a Justice of the Peace during his natural life. By an order of the Privy Council (p. 350), dated 18 March 1687/8, Thomas Hammond was removed from the offices of "standing Justice and Alderman," while on 31 August 1687 he had been (p. 309) one of the justices who attended James II. into Lichfield. In a rental of Lichfield, dated 1674 (p. 392), Mr. Thomas Hammond appears under Tamworth Street for 1^s/-, and Thomas Hammond, gent., under The Cocke Lane for 3^s/4. James Hammond was Junior Bailiff in 1682 (p. 429), created an Alderman under the new charter of 1686 (p. 349), and a standing Justice, by order of the Privy Council, on 19 March 1687/8 (p. 351), in place of his elder brother Thomas, who, as recorded above, had been removed the day before.

The following are some extracts from printed sources that help to build up the pedigree:—

Harleian Soc., vol. 63 ("Staffordshire Pedigrees"), pp. 191-2:—Richard Pyott, of Streethay, aged 74 in 1663, mard. Mary, dau. of William Skeffington, of Fisherwick, bart., and had a 4th dau. "Hester w. of James Allen a Merch^t in Lichf."

London Marriage Licences, ed. Joseph Foster. "HAMMOND, THOMAS, of city of Litchfield, gent., bachelor, about 26, and Beatrice Wollaston, of, co. Stafford, spinster, about 24, and at own dispose— at Weeford, co. Stafford, 21 April, 1675" (Vicar General of Canterbury's Registry).

Shaw's *Staffordshire*, I., 364. PYOTT pedigree, shewing Richard Pyott, of Streethay, who in 1613 married Mary, dau. of Sir William Skevington, of Fisherwick, with a second dau. "Hester, baptized Apl. 10, 1630."

Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 541. WOLLASTON pedigree, shewing John Wollaston, of Walsall, who mard. Blanch, only dau. of John Mayne, of Elmdon, co. Warw., with two daus., (1) Blanch, wife of John Pyott, of Streethay (brother to Hester Pyott, above, who mard. James Allen in 1658), and (2) "Beatrice," whose name only is given. See also F. W. Willmore's *Walsall*, 1887, p. 292, where the Wollaston pedigree shews this same "Beatrice, b. 1647," as wife of Thomas "Atkins," presumably an error for "Hammond."

Robert Bigsby's *Description of Repton*, London, 1854, in a pedigree of the Thackers, shews Gilbert Thacker, of Repton, esq., aged 49 on 7 Aug. 1662, as mard. to Jane, 3rd. dau. of Sir Thomas Burdett, of Foremark, 1st bart., with an eldest dau. "Jane" (her marriage to Thomas Hammond of Lichfield is not given), whose brother Gilbert's only child, another Jane Thacker, mard. the Hon. Charles Stanhope, uncle to Johnson's Lord Chesterfield.

Derbyshire Churches, by Rev. J. C. Cox, III., 468. Rectors of Stanton-by-Bridge:—"Allen Hammond, 14 Jly. 1702, patron Sir John Harpur."

Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. "HAMMOND, Allen, s. James, of "Lichfield," pp. Queen's Coll., matric. 29 Nov. 1694, aged 18; B.A. from Magdalen Coll. 1698 (as Allan), rector of Stanton by Bridge, co. Derby, 1702. See Foster's *Index Eccl.*

Rugby School Register, I., 14. Entered 1699, "Hammond, Thomas, eldest son of — Hammond, Esq. Lichfield."

Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, Series 5, vol. II., pp. 190-1. FETTIPLACE pedigree, shewing Edmund Fettiplace (1607-59), of Besselsleigh and Fernham, co. Berks., as mard. in 1631 to Joan Fisher, widow, by whom he had a dau. Eleanor, who mard. (? Francis) Nott, and had a son, Fettiplace Nott, of Marston Hall, Bickenhill, co. Warw.

Record of Old Westminsters, ed. G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, 1928, II., 696. "NOTT, Fettiplace, son of Fettiplace Nott, of Bicknall, co. Warwick, Serjeant-at-Law; b. adm. (aged 13) May 1716; Ball. Coll. Oxon., matric. April 9, 1720; called to the bar at the Middle Temple 1726; High Steward of Lichfield, Staffs; owner of Edial Hall, near Lichfield, where Samuel Johnson had his school of three pupils; m. ; d. June 6, 1775."

Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*. "NOTT, Fettiplace, s. Fettiplace, of Bicknall, co. Warwick, arm. Balliol Coll., matric. 9 April 1720, aged 16; bar.-at-law, Middle Temple, 1726."

Ibid. "NOTT, Fettiplace, s. Fettiplace, of Lichfield, co. Stafford, arm. Pembroke Coll., matric. 12 Sep., 1766, aged 17; B.A. 1770."

Gent.'s Mag., 1758, June, p. 292. (June 4, obit.) "Rev. Mr. Foden, R. of Easton, Northampsh."

Ibid., 1775, June, p. 304. (obit., undated). "Fettiplace Nott, Esq; High-steward of Litchfield."

Historical Register Chronicle, 1726, p. 17. (Apl. 22) "—Dy'd *Fettiplace Nott*, Esq; Serjeant at Law."

Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. "FODEN, WILLIAM. Adm. pens. at Jesus, Apr. 30, 1703. Of Staffordshire. Matric. 1703; Scholar, 1704; B.A. 1706-7; M.A. 1722. Ord. deacon (Lichfield) May 30, 1708; priest (London) Sept. 24, 1710. R. of Market Overton, Rutland, 1725-40. R. of Deene, Northants., 1727-49. R. of Thorpe Achurch, 1743-8. R. of Easton-on-the-Hill, 1748-9. Died June 4, 1758. Will, P.C.C. (*Gent.'s Mag.*)."

Shaw's *Staffordshire*, I., 102. ARDEN pedigree, shewing John Arden, of Longcroft, par. of Yoxall, High Sheriff of Staffs. in 1730, with a first wife Anna Catharina, eldest dau. of John Newton, of King's Bromley (she died 17 Mch. 1727, aged 29), and among her issue, "Anna Katharina, wife of Fetiplace Nott, of Lichfield, esq."

Harleian Soc., vol. 63 ("Staffordshire Pedigrees"), p. 91. Pedigree of Foden of Fulford, shewing "Thomas now living at Stafford 1680" as mard. to "Felicia d. of Richard Sneyd of Stafford;" and pedigree of "Snead," p. 210, shewing "Richard Snead now of Stafford 1680" as mard. to "Grace d. of Sr Jⁿo Fenwick Bart^l relict of Tho. Venables heir apparent of [Peter Venables now] y^e Baron of Kinderton," with an elder dau. "Felicia æt. 6. añ. 1663, wife of Tho. Foden of Fulford."

William Berry's *Kentish Genealogies*, 1830, p. 138. "Henry Godfrey Faussett of Heppington, Esq. ba. at Alberbury, co. Salop, 1749, bu. at Nackington, 1825," shewn with a first wife "Susan, only da. of Richard Sandys, of Canterbury, Esq., bu. at Nackington, 1789," by whom he left issue; and a second wife "Sarah, da. and heiress of Fettiplace Nott, of Marston-hall, co. of Warwick, Esq., bu. at Nackington, 1816," by whom he had no issue.

Mr. A. W. Read, of Leicester, most kindly visited Bickenhill, co. Warwick, for me, and found the following inscription on a monument on the wall of the north aisle:—

In memory of | Fettiplace Nott Esq. Sergeant at Law | who died 22^d
April 1726 Aged 55 | and Sarah his wife | who died 4th March 1754 Aged 75 |
This inscription was order'd to be plac'd | By their only son | Fettiplace Nott |
of the City of Lichfield Esq. | who also died 31st May 1775 | Aged 73.

The three principal wants in the pedigree as it now stands are, (1) the date of death and the will of James Hammond, born about 1652; (2) the same of Thomas Hammond, born 1684; and, (3) the same of Fettiplace Nott, born about 1749. The death of the latter, however, is approximately indicated by Anna Seward, in a letter to a friend of 3 September 1789 (*Letters*, II., 320-1):—

Miss Nott is become a personage of considerable fortune, by the death of her brother—but it seems to produce no change in her way of life—no carriage, no additional servants. She is wise.—Parade would soon have swallowed up the added fruits of her income, and probably left her less real plenty than she had before. Our establishment must be a degree below our income, if we would sleep in peace. O! that certain friends of ours did feel this truth, as their sense and virtues make one expect they should feel it! I know Miss Nott to be generous while she is prudent.

In an earlier letter, of 15 January 1787 (I., 249), she told the same correspondent that "Yesterday morning, Miss Nott came to desire I would pass that evening with her;" and that her walk there took her past "Mr. C.B.'s house," where she "observed the chamber of the deceased." "C.B." was the Rev. Charles Buckeridge, and "the deceased" his first wife, whose monument by Westmacott is in Lichfield Cathedral (*ante*, IV., 199). In a copy of Thomson's *Seasons*, "The Gift of Miss Nott, of Lichfield," Anna Seward wrote some "appropriate" verses (*Poetical Works of Anna Seward*, ed. Walter Scott, II., 137).

Mr. R. B. Adam, in his privately printed *R. B. Adam Library*, III., 66, prints a lively letter, undated, from Mrs. Cobb to Miss Garrick, which refers to "my sweet David," and to the Races at Lichfield. "Nell White much admired, danced with a Mr. Jansey who, we take to be a Lover." The Rev. Fyge Jauncey married the beautiful Helen White, daughter of the Rev. John White, in January 1767 (*Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, vol. III., ed. R. F. Scott, p. 637), so probably the letter belongs to 1766.

Shaw's *Staffordshire*, I., 364, shews Richard Pyott, of Streethay, as married to ". . . sister of Fettiplace Nott, esq. recorder of Lichfield." It was their daughter, Frances Pyott, who was the second wife of George Hand, of Lichfield (*ante*, IV., 197). I presume, what the dates make probable, that this Mrs. Pyott was a sister of *William* Fettiplace Nott, Steward of Lichfield 1690-1726, and not of his son, Fettiplace

Nott, Steward of Lichfield 1762-9. On this supposition I have not included her among the Hammond descendants.

The following narrative pedigree puts all the foregoing information into orderly form:—

JOHN ALLEN, of Lichfield, gent.; Sheriff in 1630, Junior Bailiff in 1635, and Senior Bailiff in 1644. Will dated 5 Oct. 1647, proved 10 Feb. 1647/8 in P.C.C. *Mard.*, dau. of, and had issue,

JAMES ALLEN, of whom *presently*.

John Allen, living 5 Oct. 1647.

. Allen, *mard.* Salisbury, and had issue a son, Thomas Salisbury, living an apprentice 5 Oct. 1647.

JAMES ALLEN, son of *John Allen preceding*; of Tamworth Street, Lichfield, merchant and J.P.; Junior Bailiff in 1641, Senior Bailiff in 1648, 1658, 1663 and 1668; burd. 11 Mch. 1673/4 at St. Michael's, Lichfield. Will dated 11 Mch. 1671/2, proved 3 June 1674 in P.C.C. *Mard.* 2ndly. 24 Nov. 1658, at St. Mary's, Lichfield, to Hester (bapt. 10 Apl. 1630), dau. of Richard Pyott, of Streethay, Lichfield, by Mary his wife, dau. of Sir William Skeffington, of Fisherwick, Lichfield; she living a widow 18 Sept. 1678. By his 1st wife, whose name has not been traced, he had issue a dau. and only child,

SARAH ALLEN, *mard.* to Thomas Hammond, of Derby, co. Derby, admon. of whose estate was granted 23 Sept. 1661 at Lichfield. She died before 11 Mch. 1671/2, her goods being administered by her father, leaving issue,

I. **THOMAS HAMMOND**, of whom *presently*.

II. James Hammond, of Tamworth Street, Lichfield; born *circa* 1652; Junior Bailiff in 1682, created Alderman in 1686 and J.P. in 1688; living 28 Mch. 1710. By Mary his wife, who was born *circa* 1650, and burd. 28 Mch. 1710 at St. Michael's, Lichfield, he had issue,

1. Rev. Allen Hammond, born *circa* 1676; B.A. Magdalen Coll., Oxford, 1698; Rector of Stanton-by-Bridge, co. Derby, from 14 July 1702; died before 29 Aug. 1722. Will dated 22 July 1722, proved 19 Oct. 1722 at Lichfield. *Mard.* Frances, dau. of "Dorothy Jackson." Frances's will, as of Derby, widow, dated 29 Aug. 1722; admon. granted 1 Oct. 1723 at Lichfield. By her he had issue,

(1) John Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.

(1) Frances Hammond, burd. 18 June 1716 at St. Michael's, Lichfield.

(2) Dorothy Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.

(3) Mary Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.

(4) Anne Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.

- (5) Katherine Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.
 - (6) Frances Hammond, living 19 Oct. 1722, under age.
2. James Hammond, bapt. 6 Dec. 1677 at St. Mary's, Lichfield.
 3. Richard Hammond, of Lichfield, apothecary; bapt. 29 Jan. 1678/9 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; apprenticed to Richard Burnes, of Market Street, Lichfield. Junior Bailiff in 1722 and Senior Bailiff in 1730. Trustee of Conduit Lands from 19 Apl. 1720. He it was who remembered seeing the infant Johnson listening attentively to Sacheverell, the celebrated preacher, at Lichfield Cathedral. Died 28 Feb. 1738/9, aged 60; burd. at St. Michael's, Lichfield. Will dated 11 Feb. 1728/9, proved 5 Feb. 1741/2 at Lichfield. Mard. Felicia, dau. of Thomas Foden, of Stafford, by Felicia, dau. of Richard Sneyd, of Stafford, by Grace, dau. of Sir John Fenwick, 1st bart. of Wallington, co. Northumberland. She, whose brother, the Rev. William Foden, held various Rectories in Northants., died 31 Dec. 1757, aged 76, and was burd. at St. Michael's, Lichfield, having had issue,
 - (1) Felicia Hammond, bapt. 30 Apl. 1712 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; mard. 22 Apl. 1739 at St. Michael's, Lichfield, to Joseph Adey, Coroner and Town Clerk of Lichfield, as his second wife, and had issue by him. Joseph Adey, bapt. 9 June 1704 at St. Mary's, Lichfield, son of Joseph Adey, of Lichfield, attorney, was burd. 25 Dec. 1763 at St. Michael's, Lichfield. Felicia, his widow, died in Tamworth Street, and was burd. 20 Apl. 1778 at St. Michael's (see *ante*, IV., 145).
 - (2) Mary Hammond, bapt. 16 Apl. 1718 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; mard. there 18 Dec. 1760 to Thomas Cobb, of Lichfield, mercer (who was dead on 2 Aug. 1783). Johnson's old friend, "Moll Cobb." Died 9 Aug. 1793, aged 75, without issue; burd. at St. Michael's, Lichfield. Will dated 2 Aug. 1783, proved 11 Apl. 1794 in P.C.C. "Mr. Thomas Cobb & Mrs. Sarah More, both of Lichfield," were mard. at St. Alkmund's, Derby, on 29 Aug. 1722 (Phillimore's *Derbyshire Marriages*, IV., 21). Eight children of "Mr. Thomas Cobb" were bapt. at St. Mary's, Lichfield, between 1723 and 1740. Presumably Mary Hammond was his second wife.
 4. Thomas Hammond, bapt. 13 Oct. 1680 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; living 1695.
 5. Michael Hammond, bapt. 17 Mch. 1682/3 at St. Mary's, Lichfield, and burd. 8 June 1697 at St. Michael's.
 6. Dixey Hammond, born *circa* 1690; living 1695.
 1. Hester Hammond, bapt. 21 July 1675 at St. Mary's, Lichfield.
 2. Mary Hammond, bapt. 18 June 1685 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; living 1695.

3. Sarah Hammond, bapt. 16 Aug. 1688 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; mard. there 4 . . . 1715 to John Sole.
4. Barbara Hammond, bapt. 26 Aug. 1693 at St Mary's, Lichfield; living 1695.
1. Sarah Hammond, living 23 Sept. 1661, and under 23, unmard., on 11 Mch. 1671/2.
11. Dorothy Hammond, living 23 Sept. 1661, and under 23, unmard., on 11 Mch. 1671/2.

THOMAS HAMMOND, *elder son of Sarah Allen preceding and Thomas Hammond her husband*; of Tamworth Street, Lichfield, and afterwards of Edial Hall, esquire. Born about 1649. Trustee of Conduit Lands from 4 May 1680 to death. Junior Bailiff of Lichfield in 1679, and Senior Bailiff in 1685; First Mayor of Lichfield in 1686, as well as Alderman and J.P. Burd. 16 Aug. 1702 at St. Michael's, Lichfield. Will dated 22 July 1702, proved 28 Sept. 1702 at Lichfield. Mard. 1stly. Beatrice (born 1647), younger dau. of John Wollaston, of Walsall, by Blanch his wife, dau. of John Mayne, of Elmdon, co. Warw.; mar. lic., for Weeford, dated 21 Apl. 1675; post-nuptial settlement dated 18 Sept. 1678. She died in or before 1683, having had issue an only dau.,

- I. SARAH HAMMOND, *of whom presently as wife of William Fettiplace Nott.*

Thomas Hammond mard. 2ndly Jane (born *circa* 1657), eldest dau. of Gilbert Thacker, of Repton, co. Derby, by Jane his wife, third dau. of Sir Thomas Burdett, 1st bart. of Foremark, co. Derby, and had issue by her, who was alive 22 July 1702,

- I. Thomas Hammond, of Edial Hall, Lichfield, gent.; bapt. 10 Jan. 1683/4 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; entered Rugby School in 1699; elected Trustee of Conduit Lands, 5 Mch. 1700; of Edial, 27 May 1711; living 19 Apl. 1720; probably dead in 1741, without issue.
- II. Gilbert Hammond, born *circa* 1687; died at Edial; burd. 16 July 1703 at St. Michael's, Lichfield.

SARAH HAMMOND, *only dau. and eventual heir of Thomas Hammond preceding*; bapt. 4 Nov. 1677 at St. Mary's, Lichfield; mard. William Fettiplace Nott, and died 4 Mch. 1754, aged 76; burd. in Bickenhill church. William Fettiplace Nott, son of (? Francis) Nott, by Eleanor his wife, dau. of Edmund Fettiplace, of Besselsleigh and Fernham, co. Berks., was of Marston Hall, par. of Bickenhill, co. Warw.; of the Inner Temple, Serjeant-at-Law; Steward of Lichfield, 1699-1726; died 22 Apl. 1726, aged 55, and burd. in Bickenhill church; admon. granted 20 May 1726 in P.C.C. The only son of Sarah Hammond and William Fettiplace Nott was,

FETTIPLACE NOTT, of Lichfield, and of Edial Hall; born *circa* 1703 at Bickenhill; adm. Westminster School, May 1716; matric. Balliol Coll., Oxford, 1720;

barr.-at-law, Middle Temple, 1726; Senior Bailiff of Lichfield in 1752 and 1759; Steward of Lichfield, 1762-9; died 31 May 1775, aged 73; burd. in Bickenhill church. Will dated 27 Nov. 1773, proved 25 Sept. 1775 in P.C.C. Mard. Anna Catherina, dau. of John Arden, of Longcroft, par. of Yoxall, High Sheriff of Staffs. in 1730, by Anna Catherina his first wife, dau. of John Newton, of Kings Bromley. By her, who was living 27 Nov. 1773, he had issue,

I. FETTIPLACE NOTT, *of whom presently.*

- I. Sarah Nott, living unmard. at Lichfield in Sept. 1789, when, after her brother's death, she had become the sole heir to the family. Mard. (ante-nuptial settlement dated 10 Jan. 1798) Henry Godfrey Faussett, of Heppington, co. Kent, as his second wife, and died without issue in 1816; burd. at Nackington, co. Kent. Will dated 9 Feb. 1799, with codicils of 3 Jan. 1808, 23 Jan. 1814, 28 Jan. 1814, 9 Feb. 1814 and 11 Feb. 1814, proved 31 Oct. 1816 in P.C.C. He was bapt. at Alberbury, co. Salop, in 1749, eldest son of the Rev. Bryan Faussett, of Heppington, by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of the Rev. Rowland Curtois; died in 1825; burd. at Nackington. By his first wife, who died in 1789, he left issue, for whom see Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

FETTIPLACE NOTT, *only son of Fettiplace Nott preceding; born circa 1749; matric. from Pembroke Coll., Oxford, 1766; B.A. 1770. Mentioned in his father's will of 27 Nov. 1773 as having contracted many debts. Died in 1789, before 3 Sept., without legitimate issue, and presumably unmard. By one Joanna Gillis, alias Newman (living 1799, of Calais, late of Brussels), he had three illegitimate children:—(a) Frederick Louis Nelthorpe Newman, born about 1781 and bapt. at Brussels or Antwerp, who in 1799 was a Lieut. in H.M. 11th Regt. of Foot, and in 1814 a Lieut.-Col. in same Regt.; (b) Sophia Nelthorpe Newman, born circa 1786, bapt. at Calais and living there in 1799—in 1808 wife of M. Lejeune, of Calais—living 1814, when her husband was "late of Calais;" (c) Sarah Nelthorpe Newman, born circa 1787, bapt. at Calais and living there unmard. in 1799, and in 1814, when she was with her sister, Mme. Lejeune.*

APPENDIX C.

MRS. EMMET, THE ACTRESS, AND THE STANTONS

(See *ante* p. 51, and *post* pp. 190-92)

I HAVE quite failed to glean any information as to this Mrs. Emmet, and am told by experts in dramatic biography that she was much too obscure an actress for any record of her career to have been preserved. But while old play-bills are in being there is hope, and some one may yet light upon her name and make her a more substantial figure. Johnson's recalling of his admiration for her followed a visit at The Three Crowns from "Mr. Stanton," manager of a company of players then performing at Lichfield, "a plain decent well-behaved man," who "expressed his gratitude to Dr. Johnson for having once got him permission from Dr. Taylor at Ashbourne to play there upon moderate terms," and was received courteously, with wine to encourage good feeling. In *The Times* of 20 March 1923 there was an article entitled "Mrs. Emmet. What Boswell Missed," by "Our Dramatic Critic," presumably the late A. B. Walkley. In this pleasant little piece of invention we are invited to accompany Mr. Stanton back to his own lodgings, and to listen to his conversation with his wife, who reveals to her incredulous husband that she, as the Mrs. Emmet of forty years ago, had won the heart of the great Johnson. A casual reader might be deceived into accepting this fancy as fact (so dangerous is it to spill journalistic ink into the wells of truth), but the amiable Mr. Walkley was evidently indulging in a pure flight of imagination in marrying Mrs. Emmet to Mr. Stanton, and giving her the name of Ann. Mr. R. J. Broadbent, of Liverpool, well known for his history of the stage there, tells me that "Stanton's wife was named Elizabeth, and as she was only fifty-seven years of age when she died in 1790 could not possibly have been the Mrs. 'Ann' Emmet mentioned." He does not give me Mr. Stanton's christian name, but promises information of the family in an article that is being held for publication.

Dr. Sadler, to whom I always hopefully turn for information about any doings at Ashburne, cannot tell me when or where Mr. Stanton performed there, though Mr. Broadbent says it was one of his circuit towns until 1797. There is, however, some evidence in the registers

of early dramatic activities, for on 7 June 1772 is recorded the baptism of "Hannah Dr. of Simon & Mary Heys, Players at Ash:"; and on 27 May 1777 the Vicar "Church'd Collier's wife a Player—o.o.10^d." It is more interesting to find that a generation later the Stantons were strong in Ashburne. Charles Stanton, described as "Master of Theatre," and Sarah his wife, had three children baptized there:—Henry (born 23 Feb.) on 23 Mch. 1804; and Harriett (born 7 Dec. 1806), and Frederick (born 25 Feb. 1808), on 25 Mch. 1808. The latter dates rather suggest that they had been away on tour during 1806-8. Dr. Sadler has also a collection of old playbills, thirty-one in all, ranging from 21 Feb. to the close of the season on 3 May 1824, in each of which "Mr. Stanton respectfully informs the public" of the various plays to which Ashburne is to be treated, at the rate of about three a night, even when 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'The School for Scandal,' 'She Stoops to Conquer,' or other such pieces were on the bill. "Mr. Henry," or "Mr. H. Stanton," appeared every night, and also painted the scenes, which included on one occasion "Ashborne Church and Town (taken from the Clifton Road) painted for this night, by Mr. H. Stanton." "Miss Stanton" played such parts as Juliet, Miss Hardcastle and Lady Teazle, and "Miss H. Stanton" less important ones. "Master Stanton" only appeared twice, in 'child' parts. It seems perfectly clear that "Mr. Stanton" would be Charles, "Mr. Henry" his son born in 1804, "Miss H. Stanton" his daughter Harriett born in 1806, and "Master Stanton" the Frederick born in 1808. Mr. Broadbent tells me that Charles and Sarah had a child Emilia born to them in 1812 (probably the youngest), though not at Ashburne. Mr. Broadbent also says that Charles Stanton continued to visit Ashburne until about 1838, when the company was disbanded; and confirms my conclusion that he was the son of the "plain decent well-behaved man" who waited on Johnson in 1776, and who had been permitted by Dr. Taylor to play at Ashburne. For further particulars we must await Mr. Broadbent's article.

APPENDIX D.

GILBERT WALMESLEY'S LETTERS TO THE REV. JOHN COLSON

(See *ante*, p. 56)

THE version I print of Walmesley's second letter to the Rev. John Colson is as copied by Mr. L. F. Powell from a photostat of the original in the possession of Mr. Oliver Barrett, of Chicago. There is a facsimile of part of the letter, which has been printed by Boswell, Hawkins, Thomas Davies and others. in Roger Ingpen's illustrated edition of *Boswell*, 1909, p. 48.

I cannot find that any account has been written of how these letters came originally to be printed; or how they came into Garrick's own possession, as is proved by his endorsement thereon—"Mr. Walmesley's Letters about me and Mr. Johnson" (*Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, 1831, I., 3).

They were first made public in *The Cambridge Chronicle* for Saturday, 19 October 1765, and I am greatly indebted to Mr. E. S. Murrell, of the Cambridge University Library, for kindly sending me an exact copy of the whole communication, which begins with the following introductory note:—

TO THE PRINTERS OF THE CAMBRIDGE CHRONICLE

The two following Letters to the late Professor Colson, of this University, when Master of an Academy at Rochester, cannot fail of being acceptable to your curious readers, as they relate to the first Introduction of the celebrated English Roscius, who was some time under the care of the Professor. The Letters came lately into the possession of a gentleman of this town, who married the Professor's niece.

It will be noticed that Johnson is not mentioned here. But the reference to him in the second letter calls forth the following explanatory footnote:—"The celebrated Mr. Johnson, Author of the Dictionary of the English Language; and a new Edition of Shakespear, just published."

The letters were printed also in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for the same month, October, 1765 (pp. 450-1), which did not appear until early in November (see *ante*, p. 81), so that probably they were simply copied from *The Cambridge Chronicle*. The introductory note



on this second appearance was as follows:—"Extracts from two Letters to the late Professor Colson, of Cambridge University, when Master of an Academy at Rochester, containing Anecdotes of the first setting out of two very remarkable Persons now living." Johnson is here given equal place with Garrick. We now turn again to *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, and at I., 334, find a letter to him from John Sharp, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, dated February 1769, with a cordial invitation to visit the University, which thus concludes:—

Mrs. Newling, old Colson's niece, will always have a bed at your service; and you may be able to recollect the little girl that used to run about the house and make such a noise, that you in vain used to bid her be quiet.

In a later letter of the same year, but otherwise undated, Sharp, this time writing from the Inner Temple, discloses the story of the letters:—

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Court, I received the enclosed from my friend Alderman Newling, at Cambridge; he thus apologizes to me for the liberty he took in printing them (the letters). "It was the universal esteem he had gained, induced me to it; seeing how greedily the people sucked in every anecdote concerning him, I was fully persuaded that such a charming character of him when a youth, which these letters contain, would be highly acceptable to the public; and while I published his merit, I was ambitious the world should know, that the preceptor to this deservedly great man was my worthy friend Mr. Colson."

"Mrs. Newling presents her most respectful compliments to him with these letters, and reflects often with great pleasure upon the happy minutes his vivacity caused, during his abode in Mr. Colson's family."

So much for the worthy Alderman and his wife: I can add nothing to it, but my wish that when Mr. Garrick bequeaths his collection of plays to the Museum, these letters may go along with them. I can anticipate every fine feeling which a man of your genius must be susceptible of at the sight of those old MSS. and such as are inseparable from true conscious merit. If I had called, as I sometimes do, on Dr. Johnson, and showed him one of them where he is mentioned as *one* Johnson, I should have risked perhaps the sneer of one of his ghastly smiles: Mr. Garrick may do it with better success.

We see now, therefore, that Colson must have preserved the letters, in the first place no doubt because of his affection for Gilbert Walmesley, a fellow-citizen of his own age who had entered the University of Oxford the year before him (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*), and afterwards because of the fame the two youths mentioned therein had won. On Colson's death in 1760, at Cambridge, the letters evidently

passed to his niece, the wife of "Alderman Newling, junior, of Cambridge" (so described by Cole—see Colson's life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In 1765 the Alderman, realising the historic interest of such documents, principally, in his view, for the references to Garrick, sent them to the local newspaper for publication. There seems no great breach of good manners in doing this, as the letters do honour to all the persons concerned, but we rather gather that Garrick had not been too pleased about it. However, four years later, when opportunity offered, Newling made amends by presenting them to Garrick, through their common friend Sharp, and then the actor placed his endorsement upon them, as we have already seen.

It is rather curious, considering that Newling saw the main interest of the letters in their allusion to Garrick, that their publication in the local paper should have followed not long after Johnson's visit to Cambridge in February 1765, Sharp's own account of which is quoted by Boswell (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 487, 517; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, IX., 778). It is still more curious that John Lettice [1737-1832], the poet and divine (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), who in 1785 married a daughter (she died Jan. 1788) of John Newling, Alderman of Cambridge (see Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, III., 752), and presumably one with the husband of Colson's niece, "had the honour to be the only gownsman sent for by the great man to spend the first evening with him," and communicated a short description of his experience to his friend, the Rev. Baptist Noel Turner (Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, VI., 152-3). What Johnson's interest in Lettice was at that time we are not told: perhaps he already had some connexion with the Newlings, and so, through them, with Colson. Lettice's marriage to Miss Newling did not take place till 1785 (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1832, pt. 2, p. 479).*

John Sharp, as to whose identity Birkbeck Hill was evidently not very clear (his index shews it), was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College from 1753 to his death at his native Canterbury in 1772, aged only 43. He was Minister at Trinity Church, in Cambridge, and for the last two years of his life (after his letters to Garrick) held livings in London (Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*).

* Fitzgerald, in his *Garrick*, new ed. 1899, p. 24, says that Mrs. Newling "may have been Colson's daughter," after quoting from a passage immediately below her description as Colson's niece.

Frederick Francis Smith, in his *History of Rochester*, 1928, pp. 87-9, tells us that Sir Joseph Williamson gave £5,000 to found a free school at Rochester, to educate sons of freemen of the city "towards the mathematics and other things that might fit and encourage them to the sea service, or arts and callings leading or relating thereto." The School was actually opened in 1708, and as regards free education was restricted entirely to sons of local freemen until 1783. Mr. E. D. Clark, M.A., the present Headmaster (it is now called "The Mathematical School") kindly informs me that there is no register of scholars during its early years, but even if there were Garrick's name would not appear in it. For he would be a private pupil of Colson's, and it must be remembered that at this time he was a young man of twenty, not a mere boy. Mr. Clark says that at the inception of the school the Under Master wrote to the Governors pointing out that his salary would be much less than that of the Upper Master, although he reckoned his own "burthen" would be the heavier, in the proportion of "10 : 4." He therefore asked among other privileges that he should have the "profits" of "foreigners," and pupils other than freemen's sons. The Governors ordered that fees in such cases should be paid to the Upper Master and handed over by him to the Governors, with an account, at their annual visitation, the fees then to be passed on to the Under Master. The effect of this rule was that records of such transactions would appear in the minutes, but Garrick's name cannot be found there in 1737 or 1738.

Mr. Clark quotes *The History and Antiquities of Rochester*, published by T. Fisher in 1772, referring to Colson as the first master of the School, "and the celebrated Mr. Garrick, while under his tuition, shewed the early dawns of his great genius, several instances of which are still remembered by many in Rochester." Statements of this kind are not very precise, but they probably convey the wrong impression to most people that Garrick was a pupil at the School itself, instead of a private pupil in the Upper Master's house.

Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701) was a distinguished statesman and diplomatist (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), but in this connexion it is more interesting to think of him as probably giving his name to Johnson's most distinguished predecessor at Lichfield School, Joseph Addison (Lucy Aikin's *Life of Joseph Addison*, 1843, I., 16; *ante*, III., 128-9).

APPENDIX E.

THE LINES TO LADY FIREBRACE

(See *ante*, p. 87)

THE "verses," of which Johnson himself spoke so contemptuously, run as follows:—

At length must *Suffolk's* beauties shine in vain,
 So long renown'd in *B——n's* deathless strain?
 Thy charms at least, fair *F——e*, might inspire
 Some zealous bard to wake the sleeping lyre.
 For such thy beauteous mind, and lovely face,
 Thou seems't at once, bright nymph, a Muse and Grace.

"It seems quite unintelligible," says Croker, "how these six silly lines should be the production of Johnson This "*Nymph, Muse, and Grace*" was a widow Evers, who, in the preceding November, had, at the age of 38, re-married Sir Cordell Firebrace. Johnson, I suppose, never saw her; the lines (if his at all) were made, we see, to order, and probably paid for" (Croker's *Boswell*, new ed. 1890, p. 39). Sir Cordell Firebrace [1712-59], who succeeded as 3rd bart. in 1727, was M.P. for Suffolk from 1735 till his death: on 26 Oct. 1737 he married, at Somerset House Chapel, Bridget ("25,000l. Fortune"), widow of Edward Evers, of Ipswich (from whom she inherited the estate of Washingley, co. Lincoln), and third daughter of Philip Bacon, of Ipswich, who was second son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, K.B. Lady Firebrace was married thirdly, on 7 Apl. 1762, to William Campbell (brother of John, 4th Duke of Argyll), and died at Long Melford, Suffolk, on 3 July 1782, without issue, aged about 80 (G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage; Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, I., 155; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, IV., 726, 737).

There is an unsolved problem in connexion with Sir Cordell. *The London Evening Post* of 24-26 Aug. 1736 has this announcement:—"A few Days ago Sir Cordel Firebrace, Bart., one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of Suffolk, was married to Miss Dashwood, Daughter of George Dashwood, Esq., of Heveningham of (*sic*) the same County" (*Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, I., 520).* Nichols, at

* The marriage is also recorded in *Gent.'s Mag.*, Aug. 1736 (p. 487), where the bride is described as "an Heiress;" and in the corresponding issue of *London Mag.*, p. 459.

the references cited, calls Mrs. Evers "second wife" to Sir Cordell, accepting the Dashwood marriage as a fact. But whether it ever took place seems very doubtful. If it did, what became of the first Lady Firebrace, and how was she so quickly disposed of? I can find no pedigree of the Dashwoods of Heveningham, though we are told that George Dashwood purchased the manor in 1719 and re-sold it in 1745 (Alfred Suckling's *Suffolk*, 1848, II., 390); while *The Gent.'s Mag.* for 1758, p. 46, records the death of George Dashwood, of "Henningham," Suffolk, on 10 Jan. Presumably he was George Dashwood, of St. George's, Hanover Square, whose will, dated 20 Nov. 1756, was proved 16 Jan. 1758 in P.C.C. (Hutton, 9): he mentions his wife Katherine, and a son Samuel married to a wife Ann; as well as an eldest daughter, Katherine Dashwood, and a youngest daughter, Ann Dashwood, who are each to receive £5,000 charged on his estate in Devonshire Square. The Rector of Heveningham tells me that his register contains no such marriage about 1736. For the present we must leave it at that.

Mr. Vincent B. Redstone, of Woodbridge, tells me that Sir Cordell was Knight of the Shire from 1737, and that as such he and his lady would have the privilege of sitting with the Judge when the Assizes were opened. This, presumably, is the explanation for her presence at Bury Assizes in 1738. But why Johnson, so far as we know a complete stranger to that district and to the persons concerned, should celebrate the occasion in verse we do not know: evidently it was just a piece of hack work called for by Cave, and rather unwillingly undertaken by his literary assistant, whose contempt for his task is reflected in his commonplace and trivial lines. But, however bad, or however foolish, they are, we must accept them as Johnson's, on the evidence.

The opening reference to the Suffolk beauties, as "so long renown'd in B——n's deathless strain," can be explained. "He was a well-known character in Bury St. Edmund's, who went by the name of Count Bryan; and who had written several poetical pieces which were inserted in the Magazine, some of which are now curious for the allusions they make to the principal families then resident in his neighbourhood. . . . The lines attributed to Johnson must have been intended to provoke this Suffolk poet to fresh efforts" ("The Autobiography of Sylvanus Urban," *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1856, July-Dec., p. 273). His first contribution, "Extract of a Poem, on the Ladies at Bury Fair" (1731,

Oct., p. 445), is unsigned. A quotation from it, divorced from the context, would almost tempt a person with a Baconian habit of mind to enter on a new field of enquiry:—

“ or *Johnson's Fame*,
Whose Conquest *London* loudly might proclaim?”

In Dec. 1733 (pp. 657-8) he contributed “The Glories of Bury,” also anonymously. In June 1735 (p. 323) appeared his “Mendlesham Games (*Suffolk*),” and (p. 325) his verses “On Miranda, passing thro’ *Bury*, in her return from *Bath* last Season,” where he first signs, “W.B.” Later in 1735 (Dec., p. 733) he contributed further verses “On Lady Caroline and Lady Isabella Fitzroy at the Assembly in Bury, September the 29th. 1735,” expanding his signature to “W. Bryan.” As “W.B.” he contributed three stanzas entitled “The Universal Charmer” in Feb. 1738 (p. 98), the last of which concludes:—

“Let *Kitty Dashwood* come in view,
She'll *all the world* enflame.”

On the following page (99) he pursues the same theme in lines, “On seeing Miss Bacon, Miss Dashwood, and Miss Affleck, at Bury Fair,” signed “W. B——n”. Whether this was the Miss Dashwood who is said to have become the first wife of Sir Cordell Firebrace cannot be said, or the Katherine Dashwood of the 1756 will. I have quite failed to get any light on these points by local enquiries, or to identify “Count” W. Bryan, but hope this statement will provoke some one to seek a solution of the whole problem.

Mr. Gordon Ward points out to me that “W. Bryan” also contributed verses, “*On the Right Honourable the Lady Caroline Fitzroy, at an Assembly, in Bury, Sept. 29, 1736,*” to *The London Magazine* for Dec. 1736 (pp. 697-8).

APPENDIX F.

WILLIAM KING'S "MILTONIS EPISTOLA AD POLLIONEM"

(See *ante*, p. 95)

IN Messrs. Hodgson and Co.'s catalogue of books to be sold on 6-8 June 1928, at their rooms at 115 Chancery Lane, appeared this item:—

239 [Johnson (S.— *attributed to*)] Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem. Edidit & Notis illustravit F.S., Cantabrigiensis, with MS. note on title in a contemporary hand "Auctore . . . Johnson Lichfeildensi," 11 leaves, folio, newly bound in half red morocco (but badly stained)

T. COOPER 1738

My attention was called to this by an article in *The Observer* for 27 May 1928, in which the writer remarked:—"It is clearly someone's duty now to discover whether 'F.S. Cantabrigiensis' and 'Johnson Lichfeildensis' were in fact one and the same person, and whether Johnson of Lichfield was the great Johnson from that town, and, if so, why." Someone's duty was apparently no one's pleasure, and though much evidence bearing on the point was available it has been left to me to assemble it together and sum up the probabilities as best I can.

The British Museum Catalogue includes King's book, but does not identify "F.S." However, when I wrote to Mr. A. F. Scholfield, the Cambridge University Librarian, he kindly told me that from a copy of the work in their library he gathered that "F.S." stood for "Frederick Scheffer," an imaginary Laplander whose name concealed the satirical activities of William King [1685-1763], the celebrated Oxford Jacobite. In his *Anecdotes of His Own Times*, 2nd ed. 1819, p. 151, King himself says that "In the year 1738, I published MILTONIS EPISTOLA AD POLLIONEM," which "was a political satire, and nothing in the same manner had been published before in this country." A correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, I., 255, as far back as 1856, had stated his inability to find the "Epistle to Pollio" in any of Milton's works, and had been told that he was "probably thinking of *Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem* (Lord Polwarth), dedicated to Alexander

Pope, fol. 1738, by the facetious Dr. William King, the celebrated Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford."

Mr. Leonard Whibley has most kindly looked up the Cambridge University copy of this satire, with a view to seeing if it contains any internal evidence that might help to settle the question whether Johnson really had anything to do with it. He tells me that the body of the poem is an attack on Walpole's administration, in the form of a Latin letter pretending to come from Milton to Pollio, who is merely the recipient of his confidences and not the object of his satire. There are several marginal notes in what looks like an eighteenth century hand, identifying "F.S. Cantabrigiensis" as "Frederick Scheffer, Author of the Toast;" "Cadenus" as "Dean Swift;" "Pollio" as "Ld. Polworth;" and "Pallas" as "Ld. Orford." *The Toast, an Heroick Poem in four Books, Originally written in Latin, By Frederick Scheffer; Now done into English, and illustrated with Notes & Observations, By Peregrine O'Donald Esq;*, was published in 1732, at Dublin, and is known to be King's work. Mr. Whibley tells me that the "Translator's Preface" professes to give an account of Scheffer, as "a Swede, or as some say a Native of Lapland," who at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, when he was scarce sixteen, was sent by his parents to Oxford (a statement hardly consistent with "F.S. Cantabrigiensis"), and after returning to Sweden came to Ireland in 1723 to recover money due to him: his lawsuits in Dublin probably reflecting King's own similar experiences. Both works are included in the collected edition of King's writings, published in 1754.

Mr. Whibley can see no reason for doubting that King actually wrote the *Epistola*, for which his scholarship was quite sufficient. Other of his works are of a similar character, while the sentiments expressed are those he was known to hold. The references to Polwarth, Swift and Pope are all complimentary.

These problems generally seem to work in circles, and it is curious that both King and Lord Polwarth are figures of some interest in Johnson's later life. In February 1755, when Oxford conferred upon him the degree of M.A., it was Dr. King who personally brought the diploma to him in London (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 279). The Principal's openly expressed Jacobite sympathies found a warm response in Johnson. "I have clapped my hands till they are sore, at

Dr. King's speech," he wrote from Oxford in July 1759 (*ibid.*, I., 348). But there is no evidence at all of their acquaintance in earlier life.

Lord Polwarth was Hugh Hume [1708-94], who was Member of Parliament for Berwick-on-Tweed from 1734 to 1740, during which time he principally distinguished himself by his relentless attacks on Walpole (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and G.E.C.'s *Complete Peerage*). He succeeded his father as third Earl of Marchmont in 1740, and so changed his title. He was the very Lord Marchmont from whom Boswell in 1778 persuaded a promise to revise Johnson's life of Pope, only to be met with Johnson's ungracious remark that he did not "care to know about Pope." Johnson had previously told Boswell, "Sir, he will tell *me* nothing," and "Mr. Thrale was uneasy at his unaccountable caprice" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, III., 342-5). Next year, however, the scholar and the nobleman had a most amicable meeting (*ibid.*, III., 392).

Why, if they were personally quite unknown to one another, should Johnson have said, "he will tell *me* nothing"? No doubt he knew that the Lord Marchmont of Boswell's acquaintance, the executor of Pope, was the Lord Polwarth who used to attack Walpole in the days when he himself was already revising the accounts of the debates in Parliament for *The Gentleman's Magazine* (see *ante*, p. 88). I find that there are several references there to interventions in the "Proceedings and Debates in the Senate of Lilliput," by "Hurgo Polgarth," during 1740 (pp. 336, 378, 383, 433, 487 and 587), while at an earlier reference in the same year (p. 230), among "Characters of the Lilliputian Senators," is a laudatory sketch of "The Hurgo Polgarth, a North Lilliputian." These references no doubt would come under Johnson's attention at the time they were printed, but they supply no ground for prejudice on the part of either.

While looking for these Parliamentary references my eye, quite accidentally, fell upon some Latin verses in the number for November 1738 (p. 601), "Ad F. S. Epistolae Miltonianae Editorem." This shewed at least that Cave's periodical had a friendly eye upon King's work, which also is listed in the "Register of Books for November, 1738," as "*Miltonis Epistola ad Pollionem; cum Notis F. S. Cantab.* Sold by T. Cooper. Price 1s." (p. 608). I was naturally encouraged to wonder whether Johnson himself had written these unsigned Latin verses,

and Mr. Whibley's opinion, that they are "horribly bad," does not, as he admits, altogether preclude the chance of their having been perpetrated by one who was capable of much better things (see *ante*, p. 81). At least the metre is rare, he says.

King tells us, at the reference already cited, that certain of the Latin expressions in his *Epistola* were criticised by Mattaire as non-classical, but that he retaliated by shewing their presence in editions of the classics by Mattaire himself. Johnson told Bennet Langton that Mattaire, though he had "a large share of scholarship," was puzzle-headed, unmethodical, "and possessed of little genius" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 2-3). The death on 7 September of "*Michael Mattaire*, Esq: author of *Annales Typographi*, and publisher of many classics with approbation, aged 79," is noticed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1747, p. 447. He seems to have spelt his name "Maittaire," and that is the form accepted by the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* The matriculation register at Oxford, however, spells it "Mattayer" (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*).

"The Register of Books in March, 1740," is headed by "MILTON's Epistle to *Pollio*. From the *Latin*, with Notes. price 1s." (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1740. p. 152). As there is no evidence at all, beyond the note which has caused this enquiry, of Johnson having been in any way responsible for the original, the question presented itself whether he might have had something to do with this translation. But Mr. L. F. Powell has kindly looked it up in the Bodleian and thoroughly satisfied himself that it is not by Johnson. The translation is in blank verse.

The initial problem therefore remains unsolved. Who wrote the note implying that Johnson of Lichfield was the real author of King's satire we do not know. If it was, in fact, "*contemporary*," it cannot be dismissed lightly as of no value, for Johnson was at that time practically an unknown man, and it is hard to conceive the circumstances under which it could have been written by someone without inner knowledge who did not at least feel certain in his own mind of his attribution. If it belongs to a later date it might be explained as the result of some confusion caused by Johnson's known acquaintance with and admiration for King.

APPENDIX G.

JOHNSON'S SUPPOSED APPLICATION FOR TRYSULL SCHOOL

(See *ante*, pp. 99, III)

PERCY's suggestion that Lord Gower exerted himself to secure the mastership of Trysull School for Johnson is quite without foundation. Dr. Birkbeck Hill seems to have ignored Trysull, though Percy Fitzgerald (in his *Boswell*, 2nd ed. 1891, I., 79) is inclined to accept its claim. But it is certain that Lord Gower's letter of 1739 referred to the Appleby application (see *ante*, pp. 99 *et seq.*), and the only question that remains is whether Johnson at any other time may have sought the mastership of Trysull School. It must not be overlooked that Percy was a native of Bridgnorth, which is only some eight or nine miles from Trysull, and was intimate with Johnson, so he is a witness not lightly to be dismissed on this point.

In 1908 the Vicar of Trysull, the Rev. J. W. Andrews, was at considerable trouble to help me in the matter. "Trysull Endowed School," as it is called, was founded in 1708, by Thomas Rudge, of Westminster, who gave £200, which purchased lands near Trimpley, in the parish of Kidderminster, the rents of which were "for ever to pay for the constant teaching of 18 poor children, of the parish of Trysull, in reading, writing, and arithmetick, etc." (Shaw's *Staffordshire*, II., 210). At the same reference we learn that Mr. John Ketley, schoolmaster there, died 7 April 1728. The will of John Ketley, of Trysull, schoolmaster, dated 20 Jan. 1726/7 and proved 16 July 1728 at Lichfield, leaves 12^s/- per annum out of land to buy 12 penny loaves of white bread each month for 12 of the most sober and pious children that shall have attended the sermon in the church. He asks to be buried by his wife in Trysull church, but mentions no children of his own and leaves most of his property to his brothers and sisters.

Mr. Andrews told me that Thomas Garlick, of Wolverhampton, was appointed Master on 2 Oct. 1728, and held the position until 18 Sept. 1729, George Greaves being appointed his successor in the same year, when the trustees were John Smith, Richard Sheldon, Joseph Stokes and John Sheldon. The minute book of the school trustees

contains no note of the appointment of another Master until Nov. 1767, when the Rev. Charles Billinge was instituted. One George Greaves, however, was buried at Trysull in Jan. 1750.

George, son of Daniel Greaves, of Kingwinsford, Staffs., *pleb.*, matriculated from Balliol College, Oxford, on 4 Feb. 1725/6, aged 19, and took his B.A. degree in 1729. John, son of George Greaves, of Trysull, clerk, matriculated from Christ Church, Oxford, on 1 Feb. 1759, aged 17, and took his B.A. degree in 1762 (Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*). The residence of the parent, as stated in the matriculation register, is the son's place of birth, so that this entry points to George Greaves being at Trysull at least as late as *circa* 1742.

Mr. Andrews did not think that a university degree was necessary in the master, and there is no record of either Ketley or Garlick having been at Oxford or Cambridge. The salary, which was derived from Thomas Rudge's bequest, was probably very small, and much less than the £60 attached to the headmastership at Appleby.

Johnson can hardly have applied at the time of the vacancy occasioned by John Ketley's death in April 1728, for he was then a youth of eighteen only. And at the time of the vacancy in 1729 he was barely twenty, and was still in residence at Oxford (see *ante*, V., 53). There does not seem to have been a vacancy again before 1742 at the earliest. By this time he had settled permanently in London and would scarcely contemplate imprisonment in a remote country situation for such a slender reward. So that the idea of his application at any time can hardly be entertained. Percy's statement is, indeed, weakened very much by his later throwing of the responsibility for it on to "a gentleman well acquainted with the neighbourhood of Stourbridge."

It is to be observed that his mother's rich cousin, Mrs. Harriotts, who lived at the Manor House of Trysull, in her will of 23 Oct. 1726, leaves the interest of £100 to the minister of Trysull, provided that he reads or causes to be read the divine service in Trysull church, morning and evening, every day in the week throughout the year, or at least on Wednesdays and Fridays, and, if he fail to do so, the money is to be "paid yearly to the schoolmaster of the Freeschoole in Trysull aforesaid if in holy orders for the time being if he shall read the same Divine Service as aforesaid in the said Church or Schoolhouse in manner as

aforesaid." The words "if in holy orders" are interlined in the will (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 195), indicating that the master was not necessarily a clergyman. Mrs. Harriotts died in Feb. 1727/8, two months before John Ketley's death caused the first vacancy at the school. But Johnson's influence in the parish would not die with her, for his second cousin the Rev. Cornelius Jesson, M.A., was Vicar of Trysull from 1725 to 1757 (*ibid.*, 137). It is interesting, too, to note that Johnson's great-aunt, Mrs. Barnesley, the mother of Mrs. Harriotts, had made some provision for the education of the poor children of Trysull, in 1697, by a bequest of £5, the interest on which was to buy them books (*ibid.*, p. 142).

Considering Johnson's influential connexions at Trysull it seems quite likely that in his early life, when he began to shew promise of scholarship, and his future was a matter of concern to parents always harassed by money difficulties, the possibility of his becoming schoolmaster there may have been mooted, but that is as far as we can go towards accepting the story put forward by Percy.

APPENDIX H. THE MEYNELLS OF BRADLEY

(See *ante*, p. 125)

THE pedigree of the Meynells does not seem to have received very close attention from the genealogists, and although I have been to some trouble to collect information from various sources bearing on the small portion of it that has a Johnsonian interest, there are numerous dates and other particulars missing. The following is a list of the printed works of which I have made use:—

Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, p. 860 ("Meynell of Hoar Cross"); Glover's *Derbyshire*, 1833, II., 136-7 (Meynell); *Complete Baronetage*, by G.E.C. (under Every); *Repton School Register*, ed. G. S. Messiter, 1905, p. 37 (John Meynell); *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1780, p. 347, 1793, p. 576, 1808, pp. 1134, 1186 (Meynell obits.); *Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, pp. 263-4 (Meynell);

Visitation of England and Wales, ed. F. A. Crisp, "Notes," vol. XII., p. 142 (Boothby); *Harleian Soc.*, vol. 55, p. 1330 (Dealtry); *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th Series, vol. I., p. 118 (Boothby); *Morant's Essex*, 1768, I., 103 (Littleton); *William Salt Archl. Soc.*, "Staffordshire Collections," New Series, VII., 113 (Meynells); *Hunting*, by Duke of Beaufort and Mowbray Morris, 2nd ed. 1886, pp. 28, 220 (*re* Hugo Meynell).

In addition I have, as usual, had the very kind co-operation of Dr. Sadler; and through him am indebted to the Rev. W. Caldecott Ridding, Rector of Bradley, for some particulars from the church. The earlier part of the pedigree, with which I am not concerned, is given in Burke's *Landed Gentry*; it is only the eighteenth century portion I have investigated:—

FRANCIS MEYNELL, Sheriff and Alderman of London; goldsmith and banker; 4th son of Godfrey Meynell, of Willington, co. Derby; purchased the Manor of Bradley, co. Derby, in 1655, from Andrew Kniveton; burd. at Bradley, 23 June 1695. By a wife whose name does not appear he had issue.

I. GODFREY MEYNELL, *of whom presently*.

II. Francis Meynell, died without issue.

III. Richard Meynell, died without issue.

(IV.). John Meynell, entered Repton School in 1678.

GODFREY MEYNELL, *eldest son of Francis Meynell preceding*; of Bradley; High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1681-2; died 1708. *Mard.* 1stly. Margaret, dau. of George Vernon; she died without issue. *Mard.* 2ndly. Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Edward Littleton, of North Ockendon, co. Essex; she died 19 May 1726 and was burd. 22 May at Bradley, having had issue,

I. LITTLETON POYNTZ MEYNELL, *of whom presently*.

I. Dorothy Meynell, bapt. 18 Nov. 1700 at Bradley; *mard.* Sir John Every, 4th bart. of Egginton, co. Derby, High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1717/18, as his 2nd wife, and died without issue in 1749. He had *mard.* 1stly Martha, dau. of John Thompson, 1st Lord Haversham, by Frances his wife, dau. of Arthur Annesley, 1st Earl of Anglesey, on 28 Apl. 1704, at Knightsbridge Chapel, co. M^xsex; she died 9 Feb. 1715, without issue, and was burd. at Egginton. Sir John, who was born *circa* 1654, died 1 July 1729, aged 75, and was burd. at Egginton.

LITTLETON POYNTZ MEYNELL, *only son of Godfrey Meynell preceding*; of Bradley; burd. 6 Oct. 1751 at Bradley. *Mard.* Judith, dau. of Thomas Alleyne, of the Island of Barbados; she died 22 June 1740. He *mard.* 2ndly before 20 Sept. 1751, —, dau. of —, who died 3 July 1780. The will of Littleton Poyntz Meynell, of Bradley, co. Derby, esq., is dated 20 Sept. 1751. He bequeaths

to his eldest son, Godfrey, £100 a year for life; to his youngest son, Littleton, £100 a year for life; to his natural dau., Sabina Vincent, £80 a year for life; to Sarah Sweet *alias* Vincent, with whom his said dau. now lives, £20 a year for life; to William Shore, grocer in Ashborne, £60 a year for life; and to "my wife's daughter, Elizabeth Button,"* £1000. All other real and personal estate to his second son, Hugo Meynell, whom he appoints exor. Signed, L. P. Meynell. Wits., John Willcokson, Willm. Rawlins and Richard Goodwin. Commission issued on 17 Jan. 1752 to Francis Tregagle, guardian assigned to Hugo Meynell, a minor, to administer the goods, etc., during his minority. Sentence promulgated for validity of will, 25 Feb. 1752; proved 21 July 1756, in P.C.C. (Bettesworth, 315), by Hugo Meynell, the exor., he having now attained the age of 21. By Judith his wife Littleton Poyntz Meynell had issue,

- I. Godfrey Meynell, of Yeldersley, in par. of Ashburne; provision made for him by his father afterwards increased by Act of Parliament. Mard. in London, before 6 June 1752, to Frances (then aged 18), dau. and coheir of William Dealtry, of Gainsborough, co. Lines., gent. She died 23 May 1793, at Kippax Park, co. Yorks., leaving issue.
- II. HUGO MEYNELL, of whom *presently*.
- III. Littleton Meynell, living 6 June 1752; died without issue.
- I. Mary Meynell, mard. 23 June 1744, at Somersal, to William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, co. Derby, and died 12 Mch. 1753, being burd. at Tissington. Will dated 17 Feb. 1753, proved 2 May 1753 in P.C.C. For her issue, see *post*, Appendix J., p. 170.
- II. Judith Meynell, living 17 Feb. 1753, when her sister, Mary Fitzherbert, bequeathed her £1000 (see *post*, p. 170); died in infancy.

HUGO MEYNELL, *second son of Littleton Poyntz Meynell above*, all of whose estates he inherited. Born June 1735 at Bradley Park. High Sheriff of co. Derby in 1758; M.P. for Lichfield, 30 Mch. 1761; for Lymington, 23 Feb. 1769; and for Stafford, 8 Oct. 1774. Purchased Quorndon Hall, co. Leic., about 1754, with the horses, hounds, etc., of Laurence, 4th Earl Ferrers (born 1720, executed at Tyburn for murder, 1760), developing it as a hunting-seat, and keeping fox-hounds there for over 50 years, "in the very highest style." Master of Quorn Hunt for 47 years from 1753. For a long period looked upon as the greatest fox-hunter of his day, who gave "truly splendid entertainments" to "many of the first nobility in the kingdom," and dispensed "unbounded hospitality to the poor." "The great Mr. Meynell" . . . the real father of the modern English chase," as the Duke of Beaufort calls him. Master of Royal Stag-hounds, 1770-72. Died 14 Dec. 1808, aged 73, in Chapel Street, Mayfair; burd. 22 Dec. at Bradley. Will dated 14 Aug. 1805, with codicil of 28 June 1806, proved 19 Dec. 1808 in P.C.C. (Ely, 977). Mard. 1stly in June 1754, Anne, dau. of John Gell, of Hopton, co. Derby; she died June 1757, at Hopton, leaving issue.

* Presumably a dau. of his second wife by an earlier marriage.

Mard. 2ndly in June 1758, Anne, dau. of Thomas Boothby Skrymsher, of Norbury, co. Staffs, and Tooley Park, co. Leic., by Anne his wife, dau. of Sir Hugh Clopton, of New Place, Stratford-on-Avon, and left issue by her, who was living 21 June 1806 (see Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "Meynell of Hoar Cross").

In *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for July 1740 (p. 353), among the "Poetical Essays," appears one with this explanation at its head:—

The following Imitation was occasion'd by the Death of Judith, Wife of Lyttleton Poyntz Meynel, of Bradley in Derbyshire, Esq; which happen'd the 22d of last Month, to the inexpressible Regret of all who knew her Merit. Our Obligation to the ingenious Author is the greater, because we were particularly desirous of shewing our Regard to the Memory of this Lady.

HICATISSA to HILARIA, on the Death of their Friend. Horace, *Book the 1st, Ode the 29th, Quis desiderio, &c. Imitated.*

The imitation runs to 40 lines, and is signed at the foot:—

Derby, July 26, 1740. H. E.

Dr. Sadler suggests that the initials are those of Henry Every [1708-55], who succeeded his father as 6th bart. in 1753 (G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*), and who was churchwarden of St. Peter's, Derby, in 1738. There can be little doubt about this identification, when we consider, too, that Henry was nephew to Sir John Every mentioned above as marrying Judith's sister-in-law, Dorothy Meynell. And Dr. Sadler tells me that Sir Henry Every was a sporting friend of Hugo Meynell, when he started his famous pack.

It was only a little over six months before Mrs. Meynell's death in June 1740 that Johnson had been a frequent visitor at Bradley (see *ante*, p. 123). In the introductory note to the verses it seems impossible not to see Johnson's hand, for it is extremely unlikely that anyone else connected with Cave's magazine would have had any such personal interest in the wife of a remote Derbyshire squire.

No doubt it was on these early visits to Bradley that Johnson made the acquaintance of John Kennedy [1698-1782], who had been instituted to the Rectory of that place on 10 Nov. 1732 (J. C. Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, III., 29). The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* gives a list of his works, "which display ingenuity in misapplying learning." For his principal work, *A Complete System of Astronomical Chronology, Unfolding the Scriptures* By John Kennedy, Rector of Bradley in Derbyshire,

which was published at London in 1762 (Courtney and Nichol Smith's *Bibliography of Johnson*, 1915, p. 101; and facsimile of title-page in Vol. II. of R. B. Adam's *R. B. Adam Library*, privately printed 1929), Johnson wrote a "Dedication to the King," and, in Boswell's opinion, the concluding paragraph (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, I., 366). On 4 Apl. 1778 Johnson told Boswell, when they were drinking tea with the Rev. John Taylor, in London, of a ridiculous tragedy "written by a Dr. Kennedy, (not the Lisbon physician)," whom Birkbeck Hill does not identify, but who must be the Bradley man, especially as Johnson mentioned the manuscript being shewn, among others, to Mr. Fitzherbert (*ibid.*, III., 238-9).

"Catherine Kennedy, wife of John Kennedy, Rector of Bradley," was buried there 14 June 1779, aged 79 (inf. Rector). On that very day Johnson, writing to Mrs. Thrale from Ashburne, made mention of her death (*Letters of Johnson*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 96):—

Mrs. Kennedy, Queeney's Baucis [Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, VIII., 630], ended last week a long life of disease and poverty. She had been married about fifty years.

Writing to her again from Ashburne, on 10 Nov. 1781, he tells us more of the family (*ibid.*, II., 234):—

Most of your Ashbourne friends are well. Mr. Kennedy's daughter has married a shoemaker, and he lives with them, and has left his parsonage.

And Sir Brooke Boothby (see *post*, p. 174), in his anecdotes of Johnson, has this passage (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 392):—

Another time, at Dr. Taylor's, a few days after the death of the wife of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, of Bradley, a woman of extraordinary sense, he described the eccentricities of the man and the woman, with a nicety of discrimination, and a force of language, equal to the best of his periodical essays.

"John Kenaday, the Rector of Bradley," was buried at Bradley on 21 Feb. 1782.

Nichols, in his *Literary Illustrations*, IV., 597, prints a letter of 20 Feb. 1740/1 from Mr. George Clarke, of Stockport, to Dr. Andrew Coltee Ducarel [1713-85], in which Clarke asks the antiquary to get him a quarter-of-a-pound of the best brocoli seed, "and to direct it to

me, and send it to Miss Fitzherbert, at Mr. Maynell's in South Audley-street, near Grosvenor-square, who would take care to forward it to me". On 1 Feb. 1760 there died "Godfrey Meynell, Esq; in S. Audley street" (*Gent.'s Mag.*, 1760, p. 103): perhaps Littleton Poyntz Meynell had a house in that street, and this Godfrey was his son. Which Miss Fitzherbert is referred to I do not know.

APPENDIX J. THE FITZHERBERTS OF TISSINGTON

(See *ante*, p. 126)

THIS pedigree has been constructed principally from the following printed sources:—*Visitation of England and Wales*, "Notes," vol. XII. (ed. F. A. Crisp), pp. 145-6; Glover's *Derbyshire*, 1833, II., 35-6, 42-3; Burke's *Peerage*, under Fitzherbert; Collins's *Peerage* (ed. Brydges, 1812), IX., 159-62; Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (under Fitzherbert); *Harleian Soc.*, XXXVII., 252; *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. R. F. Scott, III., 474, 704-5, IV., 253-4; *Record of Old Westminster*, ed. Barker and Stenning, 1928, I., 334; *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Sir Brooke Boothby, Hill Boothby, Alleyne Fitzherbert and Henry Gally Knight; John Sleight's *Leek*, 2nd ed. 1883, p. 171; Burke's *Commoners*, iIII., 350; Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, p. 679; *Derby School Register*, ed. B. Tacchella, 1902, p. 13; *Shallcross Pedigrees*, ed. Rev. W. H. Shawcross, 1908, pp. xxxii., xli., xlv.; J. C. Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, II., 452-3; and G.E.C.'s *Complete Baronetage*, under Boothby.

In addition, Dr. Ernest A. Sadler has increased my indebtedness to him by supplying me with much information of the family, principally as regards the Somersal Herbert branch, of which I could learn very little from printed sources. Mr. N. H. Fitzherbert, now of Somersal, was kind enough to lend Dr. Sadler a large number of family papers to help him in elucidating the pedigree; while the Rev. Thomas Williams, Vicar of Tissington, not only allowed him access to the registers but

also joined in the chase himself. The entries at Appleby School are from Mr. A. W. Read's transcript of the register, which he was good enough to lend me. A few other sources of information are indicated in the pedigree itself.

SIR JOHN FITZHERBERT, of Tissington, co. Derby; son of Francis Fitzherbert, of Tissington, whose magnificent tomb is in Tissington church; knighted at Welbeck, co. Notts., 10 Aug. 1624; died 2 Aug. 1642, aged 43. Mard. Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of Anthony Fitzherbert (a very remote kinsman, if one at all), of Norbury, co. Derby, and by her, who died 15 Feb. 1630, aged 29, had issue.

I. WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, *of whom presently*.

II. Francis Fitzherbert, living 1662; died 1696.

III. Anthony Fitzherbert, of Tissington; burd. there 3 Oct. 1688. Mard. in 1671 (settlement dated 8 Aug. 1671) Martha (bapt. 20 Dec. 1638 at Pontesbury), dau. of Thomas and Mary Niccolls, of Boycott, co. Salop, and had issue by her (who was burd. 6 Feb. 1702/3 at Tissington; admon. granted 8 Oct. 1703 to son William),

1. William Fitzherbert, of Tissington; barrister-at-law, and Recorder of Derby; born 1671; succeeded his uncle William in 1697; died 6 Nov. 1739, aged 68, and was burd. at Tissington. Will, as of Tissington, esq., dated 20 June 1739, proved 18 Dec. 1739 in P.C.C. (Henchman, 256). Mard. 1709 Rachel, youngest dau. and eventual heir of Thomas Bagshaw, of Bakewell and Ridge, co. Derby (Ridge estate settled on her and her male issue); erected a monument for her family, in 1741, in Bakewell church; died 1762, and was burd. at Tissington, leaving issue,

(1) William Fitzherbert, of Tissington; born 1712; ed. Derby School; admitted pensioner at Emmanuel Coll., Camb., 17 Jan. 1731/2; matric. 1732; admitted to Inner Temple, 18 Jan. 1731/2; M.P. for Derby boro' in 1761 and 1768; appointed a Commissioner for Trade and Plantations in 1765; F.R.S. 1762; Vice-President of Society of Antiquaries; died by his own hand (hanging), 2 Jan. 1772. In his will, dated 8 Aug. 1771, he is described as of St. Marylebone, co. M'sex, esq., and it cites an indenture of 2 Nov. 1770 by which Tissington Hall and Manor were settled on his eldest son William; proved 1 Aug. 1772 in P.C.C. (Taverner, 291). Mard. 23 June 1744, at Somersal, to Mary, eldest dau. of Littleton Poyntz Meynell, of Bradley, co. Derby, esq., by Judith his wife, dau. of Thomas Alleyne, of the Island of Barbadoes (see Appendix H., *post*, p. 165). She died 12 Mch. 1753 (burd. 15 Mch. at Tissington), aged 31, in childbed, and *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Mch. 1753, p. 148, has this obituary notice:—"12. Wife of Wm. Fitzherbert of Derby, Esq; in the

flower of her age, distinguished for her piety and fine accomplishments."* The will of Mary Fitzherbert, wife of William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, esq., dated 17 Feb. 1753, was proved 2 May 1753 in P.C.C. (Searle, 136), by Hill Boothby, spinster, the sole extrix. named in the will. By bond of her husband, made 16 Feb. last with Richard Fitzherbert, of Somersall, esq., she was entitled to dispose of £2000. To her sister, Mrs. Judith Meynell, she left £1000. To Lady Huntingdon, widow of the late Earl,† £500, she to pay to her [Mary's] servant, Elizabeth Taborrah or Taborer, £5 a year for life, and the same to her negro servant boy, Edward, and to obtain his freedom and naturalization. To Mrs. Hill Boothby, of Ashborne, spinster, she left the residue of the £2000. The wits. were Frances Fitzherbert and Wm. Bateman. By William Fitzherbert she left issue,

1. William Fitzherbert, born 3 June 1747; died Mch. 1748; burd. at Tissington.
2. Sir William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, created a baronet 22 Jan. 1784. Born 27 May 1748; ed. Westminster School; M.A. St. John's Coll., Camb., 1770; Recorder of Derby; Gentleman Usher to George III.; died 30 July 1791; burd. at Tissington. Mard. Sarah, only dau. of William Perrin, of the Island of Jamaica, on 14 Oct. 1777, at St. George's, Bloomsbury. By her, who died 1795 in London, and was burd. at Tissington, he ancestor the present baronets of Tissington.
3. John Fitzherbert, Writer in E.I. Co.'s service; born 3 July 1749; ed. Derby School; burd. 22 Aug. 1766 in Bengal.
4. Thomas Fitzherbert, Lieut. 21st Regt. of Foot; born 5 Aug. 1750; died 1767, unmard., and was burd. at Tissington.
5. Alleyne Fitzherbert, born 1 Mch. 1753 at a house called St. Helen's in Derby; ed. Derby School. A distinguished diplomatist; created Lord St. Helens (Irish peerage) 26 Jan. 1791, and Lord St. Helens (U.K. peerage) 31 July 1801. On death of Richard Fitzherbert in 1803 (see *post*, p. 173) the Somersall estate went to his nephew, the Rev. Roger Jacson [1753-1826], who sold it to Lord St. Helens, who gave it to Sir Henry Fitzherbert, 3rd bart., his nephew. Lord St. Helens died unmard. 19 Feb. 1839, in Grafton Street, Bond Street, and was burd. in Harrow Road Cemetery.

* Dr. Birkbeck Hill very truly remarks that this notice was "likely enough written by Johnson" (his *Letters of Johnson*, I., 46). The language is certainly not that of the conventional obituary.

† This was the celebrated methodist, Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon [1707-91].

1. Judith Fitzherbert, born 23 Jan. 1745; died 23 Feb. 1757; burd. at Tissington.
2. Selina Fitzherbert, born 31 Oct. 1751; died 2 Jan. 1823. *Mard.* Henry Gally Knight, of Langold Hall, co. Yorks., barrister-at-law, who died in 1808, leaving an only child,
Henry Gally Knight, M.P., a well-known traveller and writer on architecture; born 2 Dec. 1786; died 9 Feb. 1846.
- (2) Rev. John Fitzherbert, ed. at Derby School, and afterwards at Appleby School, where he entered the Latin School on 23 June 1731 and the Writing School on 21 July 1731; admitted pensioner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 19 June 1736, aged 18; matric. 1736; B.A. 1739/40; migrated to Emmanuel Coll., 19 Aug. 1740; M.A. 1743; Dixie Fellow of Emmanuel, 1740; ord. deacon (Lincoln), 13 June 1742, and priest, 29 May 1743; Rector of Doveridge, co. Derby, 1741-85; Vicar of Ashburne, 1750-72; Master of Ashburne School from 12 Feb. to 1 Mch. 1752, and re-appointed 23 Dec. 1754, but did not serve; died *circa* June-July 1785, without issue. Will dated 25 Sept. 1772, affidavit to handwriting 1 Aug. 1785, and admon. with will granted 10 Aug. 1785, at Lichfield, to Susanna the relict. *Mard.* before 25 Sept. 1772 to Susanna Peacock, who was alive on 10 Aug. 1785. The will of Susannah Fitzherbert, of Ashburne, was proved at Lichfield in 1787.
- (3) James Fitzherbert, of Ashburne, esq.; entered Writing School at Appleby on 8 Nov. 1734, and Latin School on 16 Jan. 1734/5. Living unmard. in 1782.
- (4) Thomas Fitzherbert, died young, before 20 June 1739.
- (5) Anthony Fitzherbert, died young, before 20 June 1739.
- (6) Francis Fitzherbert, died young, before 20 June 1739, and after his grandfather Bagshaw.
- (1) Martha Fitzherbert, *mard.* Hugh Bonfoy, esq., and was living a widow in 1782.
- (2) Catherine Fitzherbert, *mard.* 11 June 1755 to Richard Bateman, of Derby, esq., son of Hugh Bateman, of Hartington Hall, co. Derby, and was burd. 19 Feb. 1776 at All Saints, Derby, leaving issue by him, who was bapt. 17 Jan. 1718/19 at All Saints, and died 24 Nov. 1777.
- (3) Mary Fitzherbert, died young.
2. John Fitzherbert; "put forth to a merchant;" died in East Indies, without issue, before 8 Sept. 1696.
1. Mary Fitzherbert, *mard.* John Buxton, of Brassington, co. Derby, esq.

2. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, living 18 Dec. 1739; died unmard.; burd. at Hampstead, co. M'sex.
- I. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, died young.
- II. Martha Fitzherbert, died young.
- III. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, died unmard. 25 July 1649, aged 18 years and 6 months, at Ludlam, co. Norfolk; burd. at Ludlam.

WILLIAM FITZHERBERT, *eldest son of Sir John Fitzherbert preceding; of Tissington; aged 38 in 1662; died 24 June 1697, aged 72. Will dated 31 May 1695, with codicil of 8 Sept. 1696, proved 8 Oct. 1697 at Lichfield. Mard. 1stly Mary, dau. and coheir of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Ardglass; she died 8 Apl. 1676, and was burd. at Tissington. He mard. 2ndly Anne (born 25 Dec. 1640), 3rd dau. of Richard and Elizabeth Breton, of Elmsthorpe, co. Leic., and relict 1st of William Porter, of London, merchant, and 2nd of Gervase Bennett, of Snelston, co. Derby; she died 13 Oct. 1683 (burd. 16 Oct. 1683 at Tissington; admon. granted to William Fitzherbert 6 May 1684), without issue. By Lady Mary Cromwell his first wife he had issue.*

- I. William Fitzherbert, died young.
- II. John Fitzherbert, born 1663 and died 1665
- III. Francis Fitzherbert, born and died 1666.
- IV. Cromwell Fitzherbert, born 1669 70. burd. 18 Mch. 1669 70 at Tissington.
- I. Mary Fitzherbert, born 1654; died 23 May 1685, and burd. at Ham. Mard. 1683 4 to John Port, of Ham. co. Derby, and had a dau. Catherine.
- II. Jane Fitzherbert, born 1657, died 1671.
- III. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, born 1658, died 1659.
- IV. Elizabeth Fitzherbert, born 1661, died 1662
- V. ANNE FITZHERBERT, *of whom presently.*
- VI. Martha Fitzherbert, born 1663, died 1699 unmard
- VII. Martha Fitzherbert, born and died 1664.
- VIII. Frances Fitzherbert, born 1667, died 1723 unmard.
- IX. Mercia Fitzherbert, born 1672, died 1707 unmard.

ANNE FITZHERBERT, *5th daughter and eventual coheir of William Fitzherbert preceding; bapt. 19 June 1662 at Tissington; mard. (settlement dated 19 Dec. 1702) JOHN FITZHERBERT, of Somersal Herbert (her remote kinsman), as his second wife, but died without issue, and was burd. at Somersal 20 Jan. 1730/1. Will dated 21 July 1729, proved 10 Nov. 1731.*

The said **JOHN FITZHERBERT**, who was son of John Fitzherbert, of Somersal Herbert, by Mary his wife, dau. of William Coke, was born 16 Oct. 1659, and bapt. 23 Oct. at Somersal; entered Repton School in 1675; admitted Fellow Commoner at St. John's Coll., Camb., 7 Sept. 1677, aged 18; matric. 1677. Appointed J.P. for co. Derby in 1703, and D.L. in 1711. Died 1725; will dated 6 Nov. 1725. He mard. his first wife, Elizabeth, only dau. of Richard Neale, of Mansfield Woodhouse, co. Notts., on 17 Sept. 1681, at Mansfield Woodhouse, and by her, who was burd. there 25 Nov. 1700, had issue,

- I. John Fitzherbert, bapt. 29 Mch. 1687 at Mansfield Woodhouse, and burd. there 30 Mch. 1695.
- II. Richard Fitzherbert, of Somersal Herbert; bapt. 2 Apl. 1689 at Mansfield Woodhouse; ed. Ashburne School; admitted pensioner 8 Nov. 1706, aged 16, at St. John's Coll., Camb.; matric. 1707. Mard. 13 Feb. 1717 18 to Margaret (born 6 Apl. 1690, died 1772), dau. of John Shallcross, of Shallcross, co. Derby, and died 1746, leaving issue a son Richard, born 1727, who died at Somersal Herbert in Sept. 1803, without issue.
- I. ELIZABETH FITZHERBERT, *of whom presently.*
- II. Mary Fitzherbert, bapt. 19 June 1684 at Mansfield Woodhouse; died unmard.; burd. 19 Apl. 1766 at Somersal Herbert. Will dated 2 Dec. 1762, proved 4 Aug. 1767.
- III. Catherine Fitzherbert, bapt. 10 Jan. 1684 5 at Mansfield Woodhouse, and burd. there 21 Feb. 1684 5.
- IV. Anne Fitzherbert, bapt. 2 June 1691 at Mansfield Woodhouse, and burd. 21 May 1706 at Somersal Herbert.
- V. Frances Fitzherbert, born 1692 3; mard. 12 Oct. 1725, at Somersal, to John Beresford, of Fenny Bentley, co. Derby (born 28 Oct. 1687, died 10 Feb. 1755); she died 28 July 1765, aged 72, and was burd. at Fenny Bentley, leaving issue.
- VI. Martha Fitzherbert, bapt. 6 Apl. 1695 at Mansfield Woodhouse, and burd. 14 Jan. 1706 7 at Somersal Herbert.

ELIZABETH FITZHERBERT, *eldest dau. of John Fitzherbert preceding and Elizabeth Neale his first wife*; bapt. 23 Oct. 1682 at Mansfield Woodhouse. Mard. 26 Aug. 1707, at Somersal, Brooke Boothby, of Ashburne Hall, as his second wife; settlement dated 23 Aug. 1707. Brooke Boothby, second son of Sir William Boothby, of Broadlow Ash, co. Derby, 1st bart., by his second wife Hill, dau. of Sir William Brooke, K.B., was bapt. 8 Jan. 1670 1 at Thorpe, and burd. 10 Oct. 1727 at Ashburne. Will dated 11 Sept. 1727, proved 21 Feb. 1727/8 at Lichfield. He mard. 1stly Anne, dau. of Henry Cavendish, of Doveridge, co. Derby, who died 2 July 1701, aged 24, and was burd. at Ashburne, leaving a son William, who died 22 Sept. 1708, aged 8, and was also burd. there. By Elizabeth Fitzherbert his second wife, who was burd. 6 June 1736 at Ashburne, Brooke Boothby had issue.

- I. Sir Brooke Boothby, of Ashburne Hall; succeeded his cousin William as 5th bart. on 15 Apl. 1787. Born 2 and bapt. 8 Nov. 1710 at Ashburne; died 9 Apl. 1789; burd. at Ashburne. Admon. granted 1795 at Lichfield. Mard. 1stly Anne, dau. of John Byard, of Derby, esq., on 13 Oct. 1737 (settlement dated 28 Sept. 1737): she was born 29 Jan. 1720/1, died 4 Oct. 1739, and was burd. at Ashburne, leaving issue,
 Anne Boothby, born 1 Oct. 1739; mard. Joseph Greaves, of Aston-on-Trent, co. Derby, and died in 1820.
- Sir Brooke Boothby mard. 2ndly in 1742 Phœbe, dau. and co-heir of William Hollins, of Mossley, par. of Cheddleton, co. Staffs., by Phœbe his wife, dau. of John Mellor, of Ipstones, in same co. She was born 4 Oct. 1716, died 5 May 1788 at Lichfield, and was burd. at Ashburne, leaving issue,
1. Sir Brooke Boothby, of Ashburne Hall, 6th bart., born 3 June 1744; bapt. 4 June 1744 at Ashburne; died 23 Jan. 1824 at Boulogne; burd. 13 Feb. 1824 at Ashburne. A prominent member of the literary circle at Lichfield to which belonged Miss Seward, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Day, and the Edgeworths, he wrote poetry himself, as well as a few political letters.* Mard. 15 Aug. 1784, at St. George's, Hanover Square, to Susanna, dau. of Robert Bristowe, of Mitcheldever, co. Hants., by Susanna his wife, dau. of John Philipson, a Lord of the Treasury. She died Dec. 1822, aged 70, and was burd. at St. James's, Dover, having had issue,
 Penelope (Susanna) Boothby, born 11 Apl. 1785, died 13 Mch. 1791 at Ashburne Hall, burd. in Ashburne church, where she is beautifully commemorated in a monumental effigy by Thomas Banks, R.A. Her portrait painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.
2. Sir William Boothby [1746-1824], 7th bart., from whom the present baronet descends.
1. Maria Elizabeth Boothby, born 16 Feb. 1758; died unmard. 22 Aug. 1805; burd. at Ashburne.
- I. Hill Boothby, born 27 Oct. 1708; bapt. 24 Nov. 1708 at Ashburne; died unmard. 16 Jan. 1756; tombstone in Ashburne church, but no record of her burial in the register. Admon. of the estate of Hill Boothby, of Tissington, co. Derby, spinster, was granted 17 Oct. 1757, at Lichfield, to William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, esq., a creditor of decd., Brook Boothby, of Stafford, esq., the only brother and the next-of-kin of decd., renouncing. Sureties, William Wilson, of

* Mr. Gordon Ward points out to me that in Jean-Marie Carré's *Gaëthe en Angleterre*, 1920, pp. 52-3, are references to Sir Brooke Boothby, "un amateur de belles-lettres et un poëte dilettante," as known to Goethe at Weimar, soon after 1800; and that Crabb Robinson visited Boothby's house there (*Review of English Studies*, V., 34).

Ashburne, clerk [one of the curates], and John Chatterton, of Ashburne, gent. [an attorney].

- II. Elizabeth Boothby, bapt. 15 Dec. 1713 at Ashburne; burd. there 20 Feb. 1716/7 ("dyed of the small-pox").

Hill Boothby is described as a "distant relation" of William Fitzherbert of Tissington, whose household and children she took charge of after his wife's death in 1753 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). As her mother was a Fitzherbert, it would be reasonable, under the circumstances, to assume a fairly close relationship, especially when we find that her grandfather, John Fitzherbert of Somersal Herbert, married Anne, daughter of William Fitzherbert of Tissington, who was great-uncle to the William Fitzherbert for whom she kept house. But there was no issue of the marriage of John Fitzherbert to Anne Fitzherbert: Hill Boothby was his granddaughter by his first marriage to Elizabeth Neale. So her blood relationship to Mr. Fitzherbert was so exceedingly remote as to be negligible as a factor in their social relations, for to find the link between the Fitzherberts of Tissington and those of Somersal it is necessary to go back several hundred years before their time.

Hill Boothby's letters to Johnson were printed in 1805 (*An Account of the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from his birth to his eleventh year, written by himself. To which are added, Original Letters to Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Miss Hill Boothby* [ed. Richard Wright], London, 1805). They range in date from 30 July 1753 to the end of 1755. In the first (p. 34) she alludes to Mrs. Fitzherbert, among great examples of virtue:—"One of the most eminent of these you have seen, and justly admired and loved;" and later says (p. 35), "I have great obligations to Dr. Laurence and his family." In the same letter (p. 36) is mention of "my dear charge. They are all six in perfect health, and can make as much noise as any six children in England. They amply reward all my daily labours for them: the eldest has her dear mother's disposition and capacity." On 16 Feb. 1754 (p. 48) she speaks of Dr. Bathurst "As a friend of yours and Dr. L——'s"

Nichols tells us (in his *Leicestershire*, IV., 509; and *Literary Anecdotes*, I., 132), in reference to a story illustrating Anthony Blackwall's knowledge of the Greek Testament:—

This fact is related on the authority of Dr. Johnson, to whom it was told by Mr. Fitzherbert, one of Blackwall's scholars.

Nichols indexes this scholar as the Rev. John Fitzherbert, Vicar of Ashburne, who was only about five years old when Blackwall, in 1723, was admitted Master of Market Bosworth School (*ante*, V., 76), after having been Master of Derby School since 1697. Now as John Fitzherbert was educated first at Derby, and went on to Appleby in 1731, it does not seem possible for him to have been Blackwall's pupil, unless he sandwiched in a period at Market Bosworth. And he was only about twelve when Blackwall died in 1730. His elder brother William, too, who was Johnson's friend, though he went to Derby School, was only about ten when Blackwall left, so the story does not seem to fit him either.

From Nichols we also learn (*Literary Anecdotes*, II., 392) that the Rev. Ellis Farnsworth, who took his B.A. from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1734, "was curate to the Rev. John Fitzherbert, vicar of Ashbourne."

The Tissington circle of this period has another claim to the attention of literary students beside that due to Johnson's association with it. For Richard Graves, author of *The Spiritual Quixote*, was for a year or two a member of the Fitzherbert household. Nichols tells us that Graves received his M.A. degree in 1740, and took orders (*Literary Anecdotes*, III., 133):—

Some time after, he went to reside with Mr. Fitzherbert, at Tissington, in Derbyshire, he having a donative in his gift, and wishing a Clergyman with him in the house as a companion. After spending about three years in Derbyshire in a very agreeable manner, he came by turn into office in the College, which induced him to get a curacy nearer Oxford.

He was ordained deacon in 1740, and his presentation to Tissington is said to have followed his admission to priest's orders (Maclean's "History of Pembroke College," *Oxford Hist. Soc.*, XXXIII., 376). Shenstone wrote to him there in Nov. 1742, "presuming you may be at Tissington by this time" (Shenstone's *Works*, 1773. III., 61). A later letter, ascribed to "about 1743" (*ibid.*, III., 66), is from London:—

I saw Mr. Fitzherbert at Nando's, but chose not to reconnoitre him there, though to ask after *you*. I propose waiting on him at his lodgings for the same end.

An enquiry to Dr. Sadler, who kindly consulted the Tissington registers, brought accurate dates into the rather vague account of

Graves's stay there. His name first appears on 29 May 1741, signed "Richard Graves, Curate," and it continues through 1742 and 1743, the last appearance being on 21 Sept. 1744, when he conducted a funeral. He was Curate-in-Charge of Tissington, which was then a chapelry of Bradbourne, and Chaplain to the Fitzherberts. The Curate ordinarily lived at the Hall. Under the will of William Fitzherbert, of Tissington, in 1696, he was entitled to "one yearly stipend, if he shall be a Bachelor and shall dwell in the Manor House there as Chaplain, the sum of twenty Pounds, his Diet and Lodging, and if no House shall be kept at the said Manor so that he cannot have his Diet and Lodging there, then the sum of Forty Pounds yearly." For the remainder of 1744, and up till May 1754, John Fitzherbert signs as Curate, and from 2 May 1754 till 13 Oct. 1783 Charles Gasper Graves, a younger brother of Richard.

It is quite clear now, therefore, that Richard Graves did not arrive on the scene for some eighteen months after Johnson's stay in the neighbourhood. In his *Spiritual Quixote*, intended to satirise the Methodists, which was not published till 1772, he drew on his memories of the Ashburne circle, and William Fitzherbert's youngest son, Lord St. Helens, told Croker, not later than 1835 (*Notes and Queries*, 1927, vol. 152, p. 429), that the principal characters of the book could be identified as follows:—

Sir William Forester	-	-	-	Mr. Fitzherbert.
Lady Forester	-	-	-	Mrs. Fitzherbert.
Lord ———	-	-	-	L. P. Meynell, Esq., of Bradley Park. Mrs. F.'s father.
Kitty Forester	-	-	-	Catherine Fitzherbert, afterwards Mrs. Bateman.
Miss Sainthill	-	-	-	Miss Hill Boothby.

Anna Seward's reference to "the sublimated, methodistic Hill Boothby, who read her bible in Hebrew" (Anna Seward's *Letters*, 1811, II., 103) may be read in association with the fact that her great friend, Mrs. Fitzherbert, as we have seen, made a bequest to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, the friend of Wesley and Whitefield, and named a daughter after her.

The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* says that, after resigning from Tissington, Richard Graves "made a tour in the north, and at Scarborough met a

distant relative," who "obtained for him the curacy of Aldworth, near Reading, where the parish registers shew him to have been in residence in 1744." If this be so, his tour and his change of cure must have been very quickly concluded, as he did not leave Tissington till late in Sept. 1744.

Several of the people mentioned in this pedigree were subscribers to Richard Walter's *Anson's Voyage Round the World*, 1748, including "Brooke Boothby, Esq;," the "Rev. John Fitzherbert, M.A.;" and "William Fitzherbert, Esq;" (large paper). Among Lichfield names that may be noted here are, "Mr. Richard Bailye," "Mr. Peter Garrick," "David Garrick, Esq;," "Mr. Stephen Simpson," "Joseph Simpson, Esq;," "Mr. Charles Simpson," and "Gilbert Walmsley, Esq;." "Sir Cordel Firebrace, Bart." (large paper), also occurs (see *ante*, p. 154).

Mr. Gordon Ward calls my attention to "Verses upon the Road, To Lord John Cavendish," printed in *An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces, in Prose and Verse*, 1799 [for 1789], III., 107-10. These verses are signed "D.G.," which it is explained stand for David Garrick, and contain the following references to "William Fitzherbert, Esq., of Tissington, member for Derby" (so described in footnote):—

"In vain I bounce, and fume, and fret,
Swear Shakespeare is divine;
Fitzherbert can awhile forget
His pains to laugh at mine.

Not Quin's more blest with calipee,
Fitzherbert in his puns,
Lord John in contradicting me,
Lord Frederick with his nuns,

Than I am blest in Shakespeare's muse!
Each drop within my standish,
Each drop of blood for him I'll lose,
As firm as any Ca'ndish.

APPENDIX K.

THE CHAUNCYS OF ASHBURNE

(See *ante*, p. 126)

A LARGE proportion of the information I have been able to glean of the Chauncys I owe to my good friend Dr. Sadler, of The Mansion, Ashburne, who has most kindly searched the registers there, and other local records. The name in the earlier records is usually spelt 'Chancy,' but following Johnson's friend, Dr. Thomas Lawrence, who married into the family, I have inserted the -u- which evidently brought the spelling into line with the pronunciation.

Where Dr. Charles Chauncy, the first of the name to settle at Ashburne, came from I have not attempted to discover, but a clue may lie in his connexion with the Bracegirdle family of Wolverhampton.

From the Rev. Thomas Taylor's *Life of John Taylor*, 1910, p. 6, we learn that Benjamin Taylor, attorney, who died in 1690 at Ashburne, left his "new house," then in the occupation of "Mr. Charles Chancy," to his wife for life and after her death to his son Thomas. This Thomas was the father of Johnson's schoolfellow and life-long friend, the Rev. John Taylor, and the house occupied by Dr. Chauncy was that now known as 'The Mansion,' and famous for the frequent visits of Johnson, as well as of Boswell and Mrs. Thrale.

From the minutes of Ashburne Grammar School Dr. Sadler has found that "Mr. William Chancey" was elected an "Assistant" in the government of the School on 21 March 1711/12, in place of Brooke Boothby, Esq., promoted to be a Governor. He was regular in his attendance at the meetings to the end of 1719, but on 29 May 1721 a minute records that, as "Mr. William Chancy is lately removed with his Family to live in Derby," he, with two other Assistants, was superseded in office by a local resident.

The interesting tribute in the burial register of 1707 to Dr. Charles Chauncy's personal qualities was written by Nathaniel Boothhouse, Vicar from 1705 to 1715. "Mr. Charles Chancey" was churchwarden in Sept. 1706 (J. Charles Cox's *Derbyshire Churches*, II., 376).

Dr. Sadler tells me that the *Derbyshire Poll Book* for the election of May 1734 gives the name of "Dr. William Chauncy" in the Derby

borough list, his qualification being a freehold at Ashburne. He voted for Sir Nathaniel Curzon, bart., and Henry Harpur, Esq. (a distant cousin of his wife's), against Lord Charles Cavendish.

Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses* gives William Chancy, "of Derbyshire," as admitted pensioner at Jesus College, 20 June 1705; matric. 1707; M.B. 1723.

The printed register of Alstonfield (*Staffordshire Par. Reg. Soc.*) gives the marriage on 30 Dec. 1708 of "Wm. Chancie, of Ashburne, & Anne Sleigh, of Ashburne." John Sleigh's *Leck*, 2nd ed. 1883, p. 79, shews Anne Sleigh, second daughter and co-heir of John Sleigh, of Ashburne, gent., by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Nicholas Hurt, of Casterne, esq., by Isabella, daughter of Sir Henry Harpur, as married to William Chauncey, M.D., of Ashburne (dead *ante* 1758), with issue, Charles Chauncey, a Captain in the Army 8 Aug. 1758; Frances Chauncey, living 1758 as wife of Thomas Lawrence, M.D., of St. Clement Danes; Mary Chauncey, living 1758; Anne Chauncey, living 1758; and Isabella Chauncey, living 1758.

Dr. Sadler tells me that "Mr. John Sleigh & Mrs. Eliz. Hurt—Ashbn." were married there 23 Mch. 1684/5; and that "Ann Dau. of Mr. John Sleigh" was baptized on 26 July 1686. Other entries in the Ashburne register shew that John Sleigh was a mercer. The Hurt pedigree in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1853, p. 622, includes Elizabeth, and her husband, John Sleigh.

For accounts of Dr. Thomas Lawrence, and his son, Sir Soulden Lawrence, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* In *The Gentleman's Mag.*, 1815, pt. 2, pp. 12-17, is an account of the Lawrence family, shewing it to have been of some previous distinction. Further details of Dr. Lawrence and his children can be gleaned from *Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge*, ed. Sir Robert F. Scott, pt. III., p. 716, and IV., pp. 270, 353.

The *Dict. Nat. Biog.* states that Dr. Lawrence was married to Frances, daughter of "Dr. Chauncy, a physician at Derby," on 25 May 1744, "in London," but does not give the church. The account of Sir Soulden Lawrence gives her as daughter of "Charles Chauncy, M.D., of Derby," confusing her father and grandfather.

The following death, at Derby, in December, is announced in *The London Magazine* for 1736, p. 701:—"At Derby, Dr. Chauncey, a very eminent Physician."

After I had, as I thought, completed this appendix so far as I could, Mr. Gerald P. Mander, F.S.A., kindly sent me a copy of his *Wolverhampton Antiquary* for March, 1932 (Vol. I., No. 12), but without any idea of it containing anything of special interest to me. In this I was delighted to find a note on the Bracegirdle family of Wolverhampton (pp. 394-8), with a brief tabular pedigree which shewed Thomas Bracegirdle and Joyce his wife as having a daughter "Anne, married Charles Chansey 19 June 1682." This Anne's uncle, Richard Bracegirdle [1612-77], was a physician and apothecary of some note in Wolverhampton, who was indirectly responsible for Richard Baxter's imprisonment in Clerkenwell prison in 1669. Richard Bracegirdle's son, the Rev. Henry Bracegirdle [1643-1703], was a Bachelor of Law and Sacrist of the Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton, who in his will dated 12 Jan. 1702/3 and proved 2 Apl. 1703 in P.C.C. (Degg, 64), leaves "to my cousin Charles Chansey and his Wife £10 each." He also mentions Henry, Richard, Thomas, Mary and Elizabeth, children of his cousin Thomas Bracegirdle, all under 21. This Thomas Bracegirdle in his will dated 22 Nov. 1714, with a codicil of 19 July 1715, and proved 30 Dec. 1715 in P.C.C. (Fagg, 232), is described as of Wolverhampton, mercer, and mentions his children Thomas Bracegirdle, Henry Bracegirdle, Elizabeth Bracegirdle and Mrs. Stoakes. Richard has disappeared, and now we know why: he had been buried at Ashburne in 1703 as "nephew to Mr. Chaney." I am indebted to Mr. Mander for abstracts of these wills. He tells me that "Mr. Charles Chansey & Mrs. Ann Bracegirdle" were married at Wolverhampton on 19 June 1682. Perhaps Charles Chauncy had been apprenticed to Richard Bracegirdle, and had married his master's niece.

ASHBURNE REGISTERS

(All Chauncy entries extracted from 1668 to 1800)

- 1683/4. Mch. 20. bapt. Eliz. dau. of Mr. Charles Chaney Apothecary.
1685. Aug. 27. bapt. Wm. son of Mr. Cha: Chaney.
1686/7. Feb. 6. burd. Rd. Crychlow servant to Mr. Chaney.
1686/7. Feb. 5. bapt. Mary dau. of Mr. Chas. Chaney.
1688. May 3. burd. John (*blank*) servant to Charles Chaney, Ashb.
1688/9. Feb. 11. bapt. Ann Dau. of Mr. Charles Chaney.
1689. Apl. 23. burd. Mary Dau. of Mr. Charles Chaney.
1690/1. Jan. 27. bapt. Dorothy Dau. Mr. Chaney apothecary.

1692. Dec. 13. bapt. Katherine dau. Mr. Ch. Chancey.
 1695. Oct. 23. bapt. Kath. dau. of Mr. Charles Chancy, apothecary in Ashborne.
 1703. Oct. 26. burd. Richard Bracegirdle nephew to Mr. Chancy Ashbourn.
 1707. Aug. 16. burd. Mr. Charles Chancey, Physician and Apothecary, and one of the Church Wardens of this parish. A man of good knowledge learning and experience in Physick, Pharmacy, and Chyrurgery; of a lepid [*i.e.*, witty] and satyricall kind of conversation, but of great Integrity and good nature, and so helpfull and usefull to all sorts, that his loss was universally deplored, and his Corps was mett some miles from the Town, for he died at Darby in his return from visiting a Patient in Leicester, the Gout (with which he was much troubled) striking up to his stomach, and that occasioned (as was supposed) by eating cowcumbers and Fruit. He was sorrowfully (yet voluntarily and without invitation) attended to his grave by multitudes of the whole neighbourhood.
 1709. Mch. Married this month at Alsop or Ausfeild Steven Fallows of Ashford near Bakewell & Elizabth. Chancy eldest daughter of Charles Chancy of Ashborn.
 1709/10. Feb. 9. bapt. Mary daughter of Mr. William Chancy & Ann his wife Ashborn.
 1711. Dec. 14. bapt. Frances daughter of Mr. William Chancy Ashborn.
 1715. Mch. 28. bapt. (privately) Ann, daughter of Mr. William Chancy Ashborn.
 1718. July 13. bapt. Elizabeth, Daughter of William Chancy Ashborn.
 1722. June 3. burd. Elizabeth Fallows (Mrs. Chancy's Granddaughter) of Small Pox—of Ashbourn.
 1731. Nov. 7. burd. Eliz. Daughter of Mr. Chancy of Derby.
 1736. Dec. 15. burd. Mr. Chancy of Derby.
 1739/40. Feb. 17. burd. Mrs. Ann Chancy Ashbourn.
 1755. Oct. 15. burd. Mrs. Chancey from London.
 1762. June 18. burd. Mrs. Catherine Chancey—Ashbourn.
 1765. May 10. burd. Mrs. Ann Chancey—Ash.

ABSTRACT OF WILLS AND ADMINISTRATIONS

CHARLES CHANCEY, of Ashborne, co. Derby, Physician. Admon. granted 10 Oct. 1707, at Lichfield, to *Ann Chancey*, the relict, and *William Chancey*, the son, for the tuition of *Ann, Dorothy, Margaret and Catherine Chancey*, the daus. of decd. Sureties, *Ann Chancey*, of Ashborne, widow, *William Chancey*, of Jesus College, Cambridge, *alumnus*, *Thomas Bracegirdle*, of Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, and *Joseph Haynes*, of Ashborne. Penalty of bond, £1000.

WILLIAM CHANCEY, of Derby, co. Derby, Doctor in Physick. Will dated 6 Mch. 1727. Whereas I have by deed of settlement dated the day next before the date hereof created a term of 500 years for raising any sum or sums of money not exceeding £600 out of the lands and premises therein mentioned as I shall direct for the provisions and fortunes of all my younger children, and whereas I have covenanted in said deed to pay unto the trustees therein named ~~£~~600

within 12 months next after the date thereof to be by them laid out in land for the purposes therein mentioned, I do therefore will and direct my exors. to pay said £600 to said trustees. I give to my wife (unnamed) my household goods and a twelfth part of all my mines and soughs in co. Stafford, and an equal share with my children of all other my lead mines and soughs* for her life, and after her decease I give to my son *Charles* and to all my younger children all my parts and shares of all lead mines and groves and soughs* equally, and all other my personal estate equally amongst them (saving my wife's right therein and in said mines for her life). And whereas I have great expectations and confidence that my father-in-law, Mr. *John Sleigh*, and other relations, will make considerable provision for my younger children, I do therefore hereby direct and appoint that my said trustees in said recited settlement shall raise so much only of the said £600 as will make my younger children's fortunes £600 apiece with what I have hereby given them and what shall be given them by my said father-in-law or any other relations. If said £600 shall fall short to make up their fortunes to £600 apiece, then I give my estate in co. Salop to *Roger Jackson* and *Christopher Bassano* (trustees in said recited indenture named) for 500 years in trust to raise therefrom whatever is short. My wife to be guardian of my younger children. I give to my mother, Mrs. *Ann Chancey*, £40. Residue not disposed of. My wife to be sole extrix. Wits. *John Sleigh*, *Joseph Hayne* and *H. Bateman*. Proved 26 Apl. 1737, at Lichfield, by *Anne Chancey*, the sole extrix.

ANN CHAUNCY, of Kensington, co. M^xsex, widow. Will dated 26 July 1751. I bequeath all my share in every mine or mines to my son and all my daughters as tenants in common. To my son, 60 guineas. To *Thomas Lawrence*, Dr. in Physic, husband of my dau. *Frances*, £10, and to her £40. To my sisters, *Ann*, *Margaret* and *Catherine Chauncey*, 2 guineas each. To my cousin *Gosling*, 2 guineas. Residuary legatees and extrixes., my daus. *Mary*, *Ann* and *Isabella*. Signed, *Ann Chauncy*. Wits., *Dan. Chinn* and *John Slater*. Proved 17 Oct. 1755, in P.C.C. (Paul, 256), by *Mary Chauncy*, power reserved for the other extrixes. Proved 10 Apl. 1760 by *Ann Chauncy*, power reserved to *Isabella*.

THOMAS LAWRENCE, of Essex Street, Strand, par. of St. Clement Danes, co. M^xsex, Dr. of Physic. Will dated 19 Aug. 1755. Before marriage I agreed that if my wife survived me, she should enjoy her own fortune of a fourth part of lands and premises in cos. Derby and Stafford, purchased by me and her sisters of her bror., and I now confirm same. To my bror., *Charles Lawrence*, of Essex Street, and *Charles Chauncy*, esq., my wife's bror., £1600 to invest the same to use of my wife, with reversion to my child or children. Resid. legatees, my children, and I appoint my trustees their guardians. Exors., my said trustees. Signed, *Thomas Lawrence*. Wits. *Thos. Clerke*, *John Clerke* and *John Jennings*. Codicil dated 13 Mch. 1773. I desire that 130 guineas advanced by me for my

* Mining terms. "The pits where lead is digged, in Derbyshire, are called grooves", wrote William Blundell, the Lancashire squire, in 1668 (*A Cavalier's Note Book*, ed. T. Ellison Gibson, 1880, pp. 250-51). A sough is a subterranean drain to carry off the water in a mine. See *New English Dict.*, and *English Dialect Dict.*

son *Soulden* shall be deducted from his portion, and that £300 advanced to my son *William Chauncy* be deducted from his portion. Signed, *Thomas Lawrence*. Wits., *Samuel Pryer, John Darby and Ja. Knight*. Admon. granted 17 June 1783, in P.C.C. (Cornwallis, 306), to *Soulden Lawrence*, esq., son and one of the resid. legatees, *Charles Lawrence* and *Charles Chauncy* having died in life-time of testator.

NARRATIVE PEDIGREE

CHARLES CHAUNCY, of Ashburne, co. Derby, physician and apothecary; in 1690 occupied the house now known as The Mansion; Churchwarden of Ashburne, 1706; died at Derby, after visiting a patient at Leicester; burd. 16 Aug. 1707 at Ashburne; admon. granted 10 Oct. 1707 at Lichfield. Mard. 19 June 1682, at Wolverhampton, Ann, dau. of Thomas Bracegirdle, of Wolverhampton, and Joyce his wife, and niece of Richard Bracegirdle, of the same place, physician and apothecary, and by her, who was burd. 17 Feb. 1739/40 at Ashburne, had issue,

I. WILLIAM CHAUNCY, of whom presently.

- I. Elizabeth Chauncy, bapt. 20 Mch. 1683/4 at Ashburne; mard. Mch. 1709 (? at Alsop-in-le-Dale) to Steven Fallows, of Ashford, near Bakewell. Their dau. Elizabeth Fallows died of the small-pox, and was burd. 3 June 1722 at Ashburne.
- II. Mary Chauncy, bapt. 5 Feb. 1686/7 at Ashburne; burd. there 23 Apl. 1689.
- III. Ann Chauncy, bapt. 11 Feb. 1688/9 at Ashburne; died unmard.; burd. 10 May 1765 at Ashburne.
- IV. Dorothy Chauncy, bapt. 27 Jan. 1690, 1 at Ashburne; living unmard. and a minor 10 Oct. 1707; probably died young.
- V. Margaret Chauncy, perhaps bapt. 13 Dec. 1692 at Ashburne as *Catherine*; living unmard. 26 July 1751.
- VI. Catherine Chauncy, bapt. 23 Oct. 1695 at Ashburne; died unmard.; burd. 18 June 1762 at Ashburne.

WILLIAM CHAUNCY, only son of Dr. Charles Chauncy preceding; bapt. 27 Aug. 1685 at Ashburne. Practised at Ashburne as "Doctor in Physic," until his removal to Derby in 1721. Admitted pensioner at Jesus Coll., Camb., 20 June 1705; matric. 1707; M.B. 1723. Elected an Assistant of Ashburne Grammar School, 21 Mch. 1711/12; superseded 29 May 1721, after removal to Derby. Died Dec. 1736 at Derby; burd. 15 Dec. 1736 at Ashburne. Will dated 6 Mch. 1727/8, proved 26 Apl. 1737 at Lichfield. Mard. 30 Dec. 1708, at Alstonfield, co. Staffs., Anne, second dau. and coheir of John Sleigh, of Ashburne, mercer, by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Nicholas Hurt, of Casterne, co. Staffs., esq., by Isabella his wife, dau. of Sir Henry Harpur, 1st bart. of Calke, co. Derby. She

was bapt. 26 July 1686 at Ashburne; died in London; burd. 15 Oct. 1755, at Ashburne. By her, whose will, dated 26 July 1751, was proved 17 Oct. 1755, and again 10 Apl. 1760, in P.C.C., Dr. William Chauncy had issue,

- I. Charles Chauncy, living 6 Mch. 1727/8; a Captain in the Army 8 Aug. 1758; died before 6 June 1783.
- I. Mary Chauncy, bapt. 9 Feb. 1709/10 at Ashburne; living unmard. 8 Aug. 1758.
- II. Frances Chauncy, bapt. 14 Dec. 1711 at Ashburne; mard. 25 May 1744, in London, to Thomas Lawrence, and died 2 Jan. 1780. Thomas Lawrence, second son of Thomas Lawrence, Capt. R.N., by Elizabeth his wife, dau. of Gabriel Soulden, of Kinsale, was born 25 May 1711, in par. of St. Margaret's, Westminster; M.A., M.D., Oxford; President of College of Physicians, 1767-74; friend of Dr. Johnson. Died 6 June 1783; burd. at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Will dated 19 Aug. 1755, with codicil of 13 Mch. 1773; admon. granted 17 June 1783 in P.C.C. By Frances Chauncy he had six sons and three daus.; one son was Sir Soulden Lawrence [1751-1814], the judge, and another was named William Chauncy Lawrence.*
- III. Ann Chauncy, bapt. 28 Mch. 1715 at Ashburne; living unmard. 10 Apl. 1760.
- IV. Elizabeth Chauncy, bapt. 13 July 1718 at Ashburne; burd. there 7 Nov. 1731.
- V. Isabella Chauncy; living 10 Apl. 1760, unmard.

* No doubt the "young adventurer, one Chauncey Lawrence," then in Bengal, whom Johnson, in a letter of 20 Dec. 1774, asked Warren Hastings to shew "what countenance is fit" (Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*, IV., 70).

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

THE originals of the three portraits I am able to present in this Part are fine pastel drawings in the possession of Miss Hinckley, only daughter of the late Arthur Hinckley, of Stowe Hill, Lichfield, and are reproduced for the first time by her kind permission, from photographs taken for me professionally by Mr. A. G. Bolwell, of 4 George Street, Bath. The name of the artist, unfortunately, is unknown.

Frontispiece. MARY ASTON [1706-circa 1765], familiarly known as "Molly." Second daughter of Sir Thomas Aston [1666-1725], 3rd bart., by Katherine his wife, daughter of William Widdrington. Married in 1753 to David Brodie [1709-87], Captain R.N. (see *ante*, V., 249). Johnson's admiration for her is well known. "Molly was a beauty and a scholar," he told Mrs. Thrale; "and a wit and a whig; . . . She was the loveliest creature I ever saw!!!" (Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, 2nd ed. 1786, p. 157). Her portrait, to our eyes, may not quite fulfil this description; but at least it shews an attractive face, of great intelligence and sensibility. And Miss Hinckley tells me that the colouring of the original, shewing her lovely auburn hair and fine complexion, adds an attractiveness that cannot be conveyed in black and white.

Sight size of picture, 23½ inches by 17¼ inches.

Plate 1. MAGDALEN ASTON [1709-86], 4th daughter of Sir Thomas Aston, and a younger sister of "Molly" Aston. Married in 1736 to Gilbert Walmesley, nearly 30 years her senior. Her face has some resemblance to her sister's, but does not pretend to beauty or charm. She spent much of her widowhood at Bath, and does not seem to have come into contact with Johnson as much as her sisters in later life (see *ante*, V., 251-2).

Sight size of picture, 23¼ inches by 17½ inches.

Plate 11. GILBERT WALMESLEY [1680?-1751], Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court at Lichfield. Son of William Walmesley, Chancellor of the Diocese, and M.P. for Lichfield. Educated at Trinity College, Oxford, and called to Bar at the Inner Temple in 1707. The early friend and patron of Johnson and Garrick. An experienced man of the world, and a scholar whose wide knowledge of literature left a lasting impression on Johnson. "Such was his amplitude of learning and such his copiousness of communication that it may be doubted whether a day now passes in which I have not some

advantage from his friendship" (*Reades of Blackwood Hill and Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, p. 231; *Johnsonian Gleanings*, ante, III., 171-4; *Johnson's Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, II., 20-23). Married Magdalen Aston (see above, under Plate I). *Sight size of picture*, 23¼ inches by 17½ inches.

The pictures, with other Aston portraits, have been in the possession of the Hinckleys for a long period, probably over a century. It is not known how they were acquired, though Miss Hinckley thinks that her great-grandfather, Thomas Hinckley [1745-1817], bought them simply for their beauty. The Hinckleys are an old Lichfield family, who have been lawyers there for a good many generations, and this Thomas was a trustee of the will of Mrs. Jane Gastrell, *née* Aston, of Stowe Hill, Lichfield, in 1791, who bequeathed him the handsome legacy of £1,000 (*ante*, V., 253-4). No doubt he was her lawyer. Mrs. Gastrell was the last of her generation (and consequently the richest), and perhaps he acquired them at the sale of her effects. They include also, Miss Hinckley tells me, portraits of Sir Thomas Aston [1666-1725], 3rd bart., father of Johnson's friends, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; of his son Sir Thomas Aston [died 1744], the 4th bart., and of this Sir Thomas's Lady—these three being in oils; as well as two pastels of the same Sir Thomas, at a later date, which are almost duplicates.

Thomas Hinckley, just mentioned, through the marriage of his father, another Thomas Hinckley [1692-1748], to Mary Norton, in 1717, inherited the blood of the Porters, and also became akin to the Hunters, the Swards, and the Whites, who helped to comprise Lichfield's inner social circle round about the end of the eighteenth century. Anna Seward called the Hinckleys cousins, and they were known to Johnson. Miss Hinckley's grandfather, Arthur Hinckley [1781-1862], the elder, entered Appleby School in 1788 (see *ante*, p. 104).*

It will be noticed that the fine frames to the three portraits, which, being in character, I have thought it well to include, are all identical. Mr. Oliver Brackets, the Keeper of the Department of Woodwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, kindly tells me that the date of the frames is "about 1740." This accords pretty well with the probable date of the pictures, which I imagine

* See *post*, Part VII., for a full account of the Hinckleys.

to be soon after 1736, when Magdalen Aston married Gilbert Walmesley.

So far as I have been able to discover, no portrait of Gilbert Walmesley has ever been published before; and of course his wife has had no preferential treatment from the illustrators. Mr. Roger Ingpen certainly failed to find a picture of Walmesley for his great illustrated edition of *Boswell*. But for his second edition (1925, II., 1172) he did secure one professing to represent Molly Aston, just in time to slip it in on the last page. It shews a rather serious looking young woman in a large picture hat (with two ostrich feathers in the middle), full face, half length, with a V shaped bodice, and a curl over her left shoulder; both hands are visible, and a spaniel, on her right, gazes at his mistress's face. Her features bear only the slightest resemblance to those of the pastel portrait. It is described as "from a painting by Miss Costello, after the original picture (now destroyed) by Sir Joshua Reynolds, reproduced by the kind permission of Mrs. Luce."* Mr. Ingpen is unable to tell me any more about it now, so the question of its accuracy, or even its authenticity, cannot be fully discussed. But Reynolds, in April 1760, painted a portrait of "Mrs. Aston," whom his biographers identify as "the friend and correspondent of Dr. Johnson" (*Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, by C. R. Leslie and Tom Taylor, 1865, I., 187). This cannot have been Molly Aston, who became Mrs. Brodie in 1753, and who at the time of painting would have been 53; but it may have been her sister, Elizabeth Aston [1708-85], who could more truly be described as "the friend and correspondent of Dr. Johnson" (*ante*, V., pp. 249-50). Yet she again was 51 at the time; and these ages do not seem to fit the picture. Messrs. A. Graves and W. V. Cronin, in their *History of the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1899-1901, Vol. I., p. 37, list the following picture:—"Aston, Mrs.; Miss Elizabeth Aston, commonly known as, Head size, canvas 30 x 25 in. The friend and correspondent of Johnson. Died November 25, 1785, aged seventy-six. Sat in April, 1760, as Mrs. Aston. Paid for, 1761, Mrs. Aston, £21." There seems no evidence that Reynolds ever painted more than one

* Louisa Stuart Costello [1799-1870] was an artist as well as a writer (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*); but when Reynolds's portrait was "destroyed" (presumably by fire), or whether she painted her version of it direct from the original, or from memory after its destruction, remains in doubt.

Miss Aston, who cannot have been "Molly." It may be mentioned that he was not born till 1723, so in 1740, the approximate date we attach to the three portraits, would be a boy of seventeen. He can never have painted "Molly" in her youth, for she was sixteen years his senior.

We have seen that portraits of "Gilbert Walmesley, Molly Aston," and other Lichfieldians, were included in the collection made by 'Lady Bishop' before 1815, but this collection is not known to have been published (see *ante*, pp. 27-8), so we cannot say if it included the portraits now in Miss Hinckley's possession.

ADDENDA

APPENDIX C., p. 148. Mr. Broadbent's researches have now been printed. They form an article in *The Stage*, entitled "The Stanton Circuit," the first part of which appeared on 15 Sept. (p. 17), and the second on 3 Nov. 1932 (p. 11). The following is a brief summary of the information they contain, with some extra references of my own.

Samuel Stanton, whose origins seem to be unknown, ran a company of "travelling comedians" during the second half of the eighteenth century, his circuit including "Stafford, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Burton-on-Trent, Ashbourne, Walsall, Bridgnorth, Nantwich, Newport, Market Drayton, Leek, and Lichfield,* with occasional excursions into Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and Westmoreland." Among his celebrated recruits was Thomas Holcroft [1745-1809], who joined him for about a year in 1773, after quarrelling with Roger Kemble. In his "Memoirs" Holcroft alludes to Stanton as having "five sons and daughters all ranked as performers; so that he sweeps eleven shares, that is, near half the profits of the theatre, into his pocket every night" (*Life of Thomas Holcroft*, ed. Elbridge Colby, 1925, I., 154). William Hazlitt said that he, "with his wife, sons, and daughters, seemed to have been not only an object of envy, but from his blunders and stupidity the butt of the whole company." At least he was a worker. In 1805 Holcroft still remembered his versatility. "I have seen him, after printing his own playbills, taking money at the door of the theatre; shortly after that he appeared in the character of Sir George Airy; and between the acts of the play took the lead in the orchestra: in the farce he amused us as Hob in the Well, and at intervals was actively employed as scene-shifter, lamp-dresser, and prompter" (*ibid.*, I., 150). In 1783 Edward Cape Everard, one of Garrick's pupils, joined him at Lichfield. Stanton, like all of his kind, was a despot who used the power of the purse to assist him in ruling his company, but as we have only the complaints of its members, and not his defence, we cannot gauge his difficulties. In 1789 Harriot Mellon [1777?-1837], afterwards the celebrated Duchess of St. Albans, joined his company

* As Johnson's meeting with Mr. Stanton at Lichfield took place in March 1776 it is interesting to find record in St. Mary's register of the baptism, on 8 Feb. 1776, of "Elizabeth, dau. of Mr. Joseph Penn (Player)," who no doubt was one of the company.

at Stafford, where in 1792 he built a new theatre by subscription in Martin Street. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for Oct. 1796 (p. 877) has this marriage under 19 Sept.:—

At St. Mary's church, Lichfield, Mr. Stanton, aged 70, father of Mrs. Goodall, of Drury-lane theatre, to Miss Moor, of Lichfield, aged 25.

Mr. Laithwaite has kindly looked up the actual entry in the register:—

1796. Sept. 5. mard. Samuel Stanton, gent., and Ann Moore, both of this par., by lic., by me, B. J. Proby, Vicar. Signed, Sam^l Stanton, Ann Moore. Wits., James Moore, Susanhor Moore.

This was his second marriage: his first wife, Elizabeth, the mother of his numerous children, had died suddenly, in London, on 2 Oct. 1790, aged 57, and been buried at Barnes. "Her truly benevolent disposition excited the Love of her Acquaintance and the Poor." Samuel Stanton himself died on 20 Aug. 1797, aged 60 (?), at Nantwich, where a marble tablet, placed in the church by his children, and carved with emblems appropriate to his profession, records that he "many years presided over a company of Comedians in this neighbourhood, with credit and respect; and was deservedly esteemed in private life as an honest man" (James Hall's *Nantwich*, 1883, p. 326). I have obtained the following interesting abstract of his will:—

SAMUEL STANTON, of Nantwich, co. Chester. Will dated 28 May 1797. To my bror., Robert Stanton, and my eldest son, James Stanton, all my property whatsoever, in trust to pay the following. Of £500 in the hands of Mr. J. Hollings, banker at Newcastle, and Mr. Bate and Boulton, bankers at Bridgenorth, Shropshire, at 4% per annum (£200 in Mr. J. Hollings' hands and £300 in Bate and Boulton's), £50 each to my five sons, James, John, William, George and Charles; £50 each to my two daurs., Elizabeth Nunns and Charlotte Goodall; £50 to my wife Ann; and £25 each to the two children of my decd. son, Robert Stanton. As to the rents of the theatres at Drayton, Stafford, Nantwich and Ashbourn, I give to my wife £10 a year out of same to maintain a child I had by Mrs. Parsons, so much as my exors. think fit till his lawful age, and then £10 to place him to a trade. To Mrs. Mitteer, £10. To Catharine Parsons, dau. of Mrs. Parsons, now dresser to the Company, £10. I appoint my bror., Robert Stanton, and my son James, as exors., and give each £5-5-0. I desire a private funeral, and hope £9-10-0 will cover cost of same; no mourning to be worn or gloves given; if I die in Nantwich I desire to be carried to Acton Churchyard by 6 men, allowing each man 2^s/6 for his trouble, and 6d. for a drink. I would

like my freehold at Drayton, and my leaseholds at Stafford, Nantwich and Ashbourn, to be disposed of, and after paying my wife the said £10 a year for life the rest to be divided among my children. To my wife, my household furniture. To my son James, my books. To my son George, my swords, sticks, pistols, and other stage properties. My share in the Newcastle Theatre to be sold and divided among my children. "Signed with my cypher." No wits. On 8 Nov. 1797 appeared personally Thomas Luppino, of John Street, Tottenham Court Road, scene painter, and James Cooper, of Drury Lane Theatre, musician, and swore to writing of said will as that of decd., who died in Aug. last. Proved 5 Jan. 1798, in P.C.C. (Walpole, 59), by the exors. named.

John Stanton followed his father's profession: his circuit extended from Buxton to Lancaster, to which town he introduced Mrs. Siddons in 1799: his company included Thomas John Dibdin [1771-1841], who joined at Bury in 1793, and George Frederick Cooke [1756-1811], who was with it in 1796. "George Stanton, Comedian," was buried at Nantwich on 22 Mch. 1809 (Hall's *Nantwich*, p. 219). Of the activities of Charles Stanton, other than those I have recorded at Ashburne, Mr. Broadbent relates a few more particulars. Emilia, daughter of Charles Stanton, comedian, and Sarah, was baptized at Nantwich on 12 July 1812 (*ibid.*, p. 219). Robert Endas, son of Samuel Stanton, player, was baptized there on 27 Jan. 1767 (*ibid.*, p. 219): he died at Walsall on 2 Apl. 1795, aged 22, being described as seventh son, so that one of his elder brothers must have died young. Samuel Stanton's elder daughter, Elizabeth, married an ex-naval officer named Nunns, and acted with him in the company. The younger daughter, Charlotte [d. 1830], who made her *début* at Bath in 1784, is noticed at some length in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, as "the daughter of Stanton, manager of what was called a 'sharing company' in Staffordshire"; as is also her husband, Thomas Goodall [1767-1832 ?], "Admiral of Hayti."

Why Samuel Stanton's request to be buried at Acton, a mile outside Nantwich, was ignored, we do not know, but the burial of "Samuell Stanton, Gent.," is recorded at Nantwich under 22 Aug. 1797 (Hall's *Nantwich*, p. 219). My own great-great-grandfather, John Reade [1709-77], who kept the inn at Barbridge, in Acton parish, may well have been numbered at times among Stanton's audience at Nantwich; while my great-grandfather, James Reade [1749-1814], who lived at Market Drayton from 1788, no doubt would patronize the theatre there.

APPENDIX H., p. 167. Dr. Sadler has, quite by chance, lighted upon a valuable reference which reveals to us who the shoemaker was that married the Rev. John Kennedy's daughter about 1780. It is in *The Reliquary* for Apl. 1879 (pp. 255-6), where William A. E. Axon quotes from a diary then recently printed for private circulation (in the form of a small octavo pamphlet of 24 pages, without title-page or imprint), written by Thomas, afterwards first Lord Denman [1779-1854], while on a visit to Derbyshire in his undergraduate days. He left London on 12 July 1798, and was at Stoney Middleton, near Bakewell, two days later.

At Ashbourne he called in a small shop, where he saw a woman who "certainly expressed herself in a superior style. When she went, for she was the visitor, the mistress of the house informed me, that she was a striking instance of the uncertainty of human affairs, being the daughter of a clergyman who lived in excellent circumstances, of the name of Kennedy, and the wife of a shoemaker, who was but indifferently off, called Burton. This incident, she told me, was mentioned by Dr. Johnson in his letters. She had known the Doctor when he used to pay visits to Dr. Taylor, who resided in Ashbourne, and often had the happiness of entertaining him."

In an old Ashburne directory (probably of 1792) Dr. Sadler finds the name of John Burton, cordwainer, among the "traders;" he was not a freeholder, as were the other six cordwainers of the town. And in the registers he found these entries:—

1781. May 1. bapt. John, son of John & Cathere Burton Ash:

1799. Oct. 27. burd. John Burton, Ashⁿ, aged 61.

1810. Sept. 12. burd. Catharine Burton, aged 73.

The marriage register at Bradley is unfortunately missing for the period when her wedding must have taken place. But Dr. Sadler is informed that Katherine Kennedy was baptized there in Mch. 1738/9.

Mr. Laithwaite has sent me a reprint, from the *Transactions of the North Staffs. Field Club*, 1931-2, of his valuable paper on "Dr. Johnson's Lichfield Forbears and Dr. Johnson's Academy," which was awarded the Lynam Memorial Prize. On the last page (28) we learn that he and Alderman Wood, with an experienced builder, inspected the attics of Edial Hall in Sept. 1930. "A casual examination shewed that whereas the lower timbers of the roof were undoubtedly original, the rafters of the gables and apex of the roof were a later addition." This supports, with slight modification, my conclusions at ante, p. 41.

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